THE MISSION COMPOUND IN MODERN CHINA:

THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES PROTESTANT MISSION AS AN ASYLUM IN THE CIVIL AND INTERNATIONAL STRIFE OF CHINA, 1900-1941

by
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The purpose of this study is to assess the significance for China of the safety found in United States Protestant missions by Chinese subjects during periods of warfare between 1900 and 1941.

Part One describes the development of the treaty clauses under which United States Protestant missions existed in China, together with their modification in practice; the growth of the prestige granted by Chinese to United States Protestant missions because of the protection given them by Chinese and American officials; the attempt made by Chinese to use that prestige for their own purposes; and the measures taken against this practice by United States Protestants in the years preceding 1911.

Part Two delineates the rise and decline of the use of mission enclosures as asylums during the rebellions, wars, and revolutions of 1911 to 1928. In the first part of this period all who were inside the walls of United States Protestant missions were left unharmed, for experiences in the years treated in Part One had discouraged the Chinese from injuring foreigners and what pertained to them. The rise of modern nationalism and the influence of Soviet propagandists in the renascent Kuomintang diminished the position of power held by Westerners in China

until approximately 1925. Since the increased anti-foreign activities of the mid-1920's provoked no response on the part of the West comparable to the international punitive expedition of 1900, armed Chinese ceased to leave unmolested those of their fellow-countrymen who fled to mission compounds.

Part Three depicts the revival of the inviolability of United States Protestant missions in the struggle between Japan and China. From 1937 to 1941 mission properties were again able to shelter Chinese in combat areas, for they belonged to citizens of a powerful nation which was not yet an active participant in the Far Eastern conflict. However, the entry of the United States into World War Two and her subsequent relinquishment of the treaty-granted privileges held in China by her citizens ended the ability of United States Protestant missions to offer asylum because of their foreign ownership.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the study. 1) The capacity of United States Protestant missions to harbor Chinese during wartime depended upon the degree of awe felt for Western power by those who were disturbing the peace of China. 2) The effectiveness of the shelter given to Chinese by United States Protestant missions therefore varied with the physical security accorded by the Chinese to Westerners in general, which in turn was dependent on the relative strength of China and the West. 3) The recognition by missionaries of the close association between the safety of their enclosures and China's fear of retaliation by Western governments for any harm done to foreigners forced upon United States Protestants a continual struggle with the dilemma of whether or not they ought to use their connection with the United States for the preservation of Chinese lives. 4) United States Protestants

therefore exerted themselves to avoid favoring one class or group over another in the protection they afforded to Chinese. 5) The realization by Chinese of the relationship between Western might and mission inviolability was a factor in the resentment against foreign privileges which led in the 1920's not only to China's insistence upon treaty revision but to the success of the Kuomintang. 6) During the war with Japan, Chinese accepted the special position held by United States Protestant missions because their humanitarian services assisted the nation and its people against a foreign invader.

PREFACE

The expansion of the peoples of Europe not only into the western hemisphere but into the Asian and African cradles of civilization has been a dominant factor in the last five centuries of the world's history. Those who came to the Americas wrested the land from its inhabitants and fashioned a new world. Those who traveled eastward found ways to live beside the inheritors of cultures more ancient than their own without thrusting the latter from their homes. One of the most important of the developments that enabled Westerners to live in Asian lands which they did not actually rule was the practice of extraterritoriality which flourished both in the Ottoman and Manchu empires. In the Ottoman empire it grew naturally out of the pre-Ottoman concept of a different code of law for the members of each of the various religious bodies, administered by the leaders of the religious communities. In the Manchu empire, however, it was a product of the nineteenth century whose operation was strange to the Chinese body politic. Moreover, some of its outcomes were unexpected. It is with one of these unanticipated results, the activity of a large group of China's resident foreigners in protecting their Chinese associates and acquaintances from the perils of war, that this study is concerned.

The materials from which this dissertation has been constructed were gleaned from manuscript letters, diaries, published letters and articles, quarterly and annual reports, and autobiographical or biographical writings. Since preference has been given to the fullest and most direct accounts found of each type of incident discussed, it should be borne in mind that unless otherwise indicated the occurrences actually described are to be regarded as the most completely recorded rather than as the only ones of their kind. The study of the documents used was supported by the American Association of University Women, to whom I wish to express my appreciation for the opportunities opened to me as the holder of the Michigan State Fellowship of the Association during the academic year 1955-56. The completion of this work would not have been possible, however, without the advice, criticism, and assistance of many to whom I owe a lasting debt of gratitude. The tireless patience and invaluable suggestions of the chairman of the reading committee for this dissertation, Associate Professor John Whitney Hall, Director of the Center for Japanese Studies at the University of Michigan, and of the committee members, Assistant Professor Robert I. Crane, Assistant Professor Donald F. Drummond, and Dr. Donald A. Holzman, all of the University of Michigan, have been most helpful. Dr. R. Pierce Beaver, Dr. M. Searle Bates, and Dr. Frank W. Price, who served respectively as director, acting director, and director of the Missionary Research Library in New York during the months when

I was using its collections, have all offered assistance not only from the standpoint of their knowledge of the library's resources but from their own experiences as missionaries in China. The contribution of Dr. Bates, who was himself conspicuously active in protecting Chinese during the early part of the Japanese occupation of Nanking, has been especially great. The members of the Missionary Research Library staff, Miss Jones, Mrs. Montes, Mr. Ma, Mr. Moyer, and Mr. Rode, gave liberally of their time and effort in aiding my research. Dr. L. Carrington Goodrich of Columbia University and Dr. John K. Fairbank of Harvard University made stimulating remarks out of their experience and knowledge of Far Eastern affairs. For the furthering of my research in the libraries and files of individual mission societies, I wish to thank Miss Walker of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and Miss Jakeman and the staff of the Houghton Library at Harvard, where the American Board correspondence is deposited; Miss Brown and Miss Wallus of the Presbyterian Mission Library in New York, and Miss McCarthy of the reports department of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; Dr. Charles H. Corbett of the United Board for Christian Colleges in China; Miss Woodruff of the Methodist Library, and Miss French and Mrs. Ernst of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Church; Dr. Dana M. Albaugh, Miss Bates, and Miss Shank of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society; and Dr. Claude L. Pickens and Deaconess

Seymour of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. From their years of service in China Dr. Corbett and Dr. Pickens gave me a number of valuable comments. In fact, one of the most enjoyable aspects of my research has been the contacts made both through personal interviews and through correspondence with former China missionaries. Dr. R. T. Henry, Dr. Bruce Jarvis, Mrs. Richard E. Jenness, Mrs. Martin J. Krieger, and Miss Hattie R. MacCurdy have all talked freely and helpfully to me. The responses I have received both to my letters of inquiry and to my requests for permission to use quotations have been gratifying not only for their contents but for the interest the writers have taken in this subject. They are so numerous that, rather than expressing my gratitude to them individually here as I have already done by letter, I shall simply thank them collectively. However, none of those whom I have mentioned above should be held responsible for any of the statements of opinion I have made, or for the interpretations I have placed upon the facts gathered during the period of my research. I am also indebted to my typists, Mrs. Robert L. Conner and Mrs. Milton N. Kemnitz, for their competence and co-operation. Lastly, I wish to tender my deep appreciation for the unfailing interest and encouragement of my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Leslie A. Quale.

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INTRODUCTION

The internal history of China during the first half of the twentieth century was a stormy one, as revolution succeeded revolution from the time of the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1911 to the expulsion of the Kuomintang from the mainland in 1949. Rebellions in 1913 and 1916, battles between rival governments in Canton and Peking from 1917 to 1928, and continued struggles between the Kuomintang and those who disputed its rule after it replaced the Peking government were among the civil wars which made chaos the expected and peace the abnormal condition in China for forty strife-torn years. Nor were the relationships of other nations to China during that period invariably peaceful. The century was opened by an international expedition to relieve the Boxer-besieged legations in Peking. Several times before the 1930's Japan made small incursions into Chinese territory. After her seizure of Manchuria in 1931 the duel between Japan and China gradually turned into the full-scale war of 1937 to 1945. Yet throughout the first four decades of that era of bloodshed the position of foreign nationals enabled them in many cases to offer a measure of safety to the Chinese around them. Under the treaties which defined the position of Westerners and Japanese, their property was immune to search and seizure by Chinese officials. Furthermore, in addition to special protection by

local Chinese authorities, they and what belonged to them were entitled by treaty to the guardianship of their own countries' armed forces stationed in the treaty-opened ports of China. Thus whenever warfare threatened China's stability, many Chinese were more willing to entrust themselves to foreign concessions in treaty ports and to other foreign-owned compounds in the interior of the country than they were to remain in their homes until the fighting had stopped.

The refuge afforded by the foreign concessions at Tientsin and Hankow and the foreign settlement at Shanghai to Chinese endangered by the political struggles of the first half of the twentieth century was an active element in Chinese politics. Deposed officials of every rank fled to these three cities to escape the possible vengeance of those who had expelled them from office. Revolutionists of the importance of Sun Yat-sen avoided their enemies by living in one or another of the trio for shorter or longer periods. However, all over China other and smaller foreign-held properties also sheltered the Chinese around them at various times. Their ability to do so resulted from the operation in practice of the treaty provisions obtained by Western powers during the nineteenth century as safeguards for their nationals in China. So long as the might of the West continued to be feared by those who sought to govern China, Europeans and Americans in the interior were protected by the "prestige of power" which surrounded them as foreigners. As that prestige declined during the second quarter of the twentieth century, Westerners resident in the interior of China lost the ability to maintain

the inviolability of their properties in civil warfare. Only from foreign invaders could they still preserve the Chinese who gathered within their walls. Even this was no longer possible after the entry of Great Britain and the United States into the Pacific war in 1941, an event which was followed by their relinquishment of the privileges granted their nationals during the preceding century.

Among the most widely-distributed foreign-owned enclosures or compounds--for like almost every dwelling in the villages and cities of China, foreign properties were usually surrounded by walls or fences--were the ones belonging to Christian mission societies. Western missionaries in China early gained greater freedom of travel and residence than their compatriots in other occupations. Thus they were able to spread over the countryside so that by the opening of the twentieth century they lived in every province of China proper. Mission compounds could therefore be used as asylums or refuges by Chinese in a greater number of areas than could any other single group of foreign-held properties. Moreover, because of this broad geographical contact between missionaries and Chinese, the measures taken to ensure the freedom of conscience guaranteed to Christian converts in treaties between China and the West affected intimately more administrative districts than did those for the protection of foreign merchants and businessmen. The Western power to influence Chinese affairs which was the basis of the ability of Western-owned properties to act as asylums was thereby displayed to more Chinese in the person of a missionary than in any other

form. Because of their widespread residence in China and the protection granted to their converts, then, the missionaries as a group are of unique value for the study of the role of foreign properties as asylums in twentieth-century China.

Within the Christian mission body as a whole during the period covered in this study, the representatives of United States Protestant mission societies accounted for roughly one-fourth to one-third of the total. They were scattered throughout every region. Like other missionaries, other foreigners in general, and the Chinese people themselves, they were more heavily concentrated in the great river valleys and the coastal provinces than in the mountainous southwest or the dry northwest. What they recorded concerning the ways in which Chinese used their protection may thus be taken as a fair sample of what would be revealed by a study of the writings of members of other missions. Furthermore, United States Protestants as a national group are of interest because as they became aware of their capacity to exercise control over the workings of the Chinese state, they strove to put an end to practices which they felt interfered in purely Chinese affairs. This result of their "conflict of conscience" over the use of treaty-granted privileges was in harmony with the Open Door policy of the United States government. Though there are no published indications of formal consultations in China between members of the United States diplomatic service and representatives of American mission bodies looking towards cooperation

in the formulation of policy, both groups sought to avoid foreign participation in the administration of China. The diplomats opposed the granting of privileges which did not apply equally to all nations; the missionaries resorted to the more drastic method of giving up the use of their own prerogatives.

The problem to which this study is addressed, then, is to trace the evolution and assess the significance of the role of United States Protestant missions as asylums in the civil and international wars of China from the Boxer era to the merging of the conflict in the Far East into the Second World War. We shall now turn to the background against which that role developed.

CHAPTER I

THE GROWTH OF THE MISSIONS' POSITION

After the nations of the Western world began by the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 to establish treaty relations with her, China's destinies became increasingly interwoven with those of nations whose very names were unknown to the people of mid-nineteenth-century China. The opening of limited areas of China to foreign residence which these treaties provided for did, however, bring many of the Chinese into direct contact with foreigners. As the nineteenth century progressed and the approaching collapse of Manchu rule became more and more evident, the diplomats at Peking, the consular bodies of the ports opened by treaty to foreign trade and residence, and indeed the whole body of Westerners in China played an increasing part in her affairs.

The position of Westerners in China at the opening of the twentieth century, like their position within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, was set forth in those clauses of the treaties defining the relationship between their homelands and China which made explicit their rights and privileges. These provisions gave to foreign nationals various types of special protection, including guarantees of safety not only to Christian missionaries but to their Chinese converts. American Protestants,

like their fellow-missionaries, took an active interest in the formulation of treaty clauses affecting their work. At the suggestion of S. Wells Williams and W. A. P. Martin, United States Protestant missionaries who acted as interpreters for United States plenipotentiary William B. Reed in the negotiations at Tientsin in 1858, a toleration clause appeared in the resulting treaty. Moreover, it was on behalf of American missionaries that Article XIV of the commercial treaty signed by the plenipotentiaries of China and the United States at Shanghai in 1903 made "the fullest statement of these privileges" possessed by both the missionaries and the Chinese Christians "contained in any existing treaty."[1] During the nineteenth century, marked as it was by an awakening of interest among Protestants and a rededication among Roman Catholics to the cause of Christian missionary effort,[2] the governments of nations from which missionaries went to China obtained for them greater protection in the course of their travels than was allotted to their merchant compatriots. Not only was that privilege secured for them, but to it was added the definite statement that neither they nor their converts were to be molested for their faith. In addition, the right to travel freely developed gradually into the right to reside with equal freedom in any

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[1] A. L. Warnshuis (comp.), "Data regarding the Present Legal Position of American Missionaries and Missionary Property in China," (International Missionary Council, 1925 or later), p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

[2] Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929), pp. 203-07.

part of China, whether it were open to other foreign residents or not. This right was specifically stated in the treaty of 1903 between China and the United States. By the operation of the most-favored-nation clause it was thereby granted to all other nations having treaty relations with China. This privilege had been claimed by the French and in consequence by the British and United States governments for the missions of their respective nationals since the much-disputed Berthemy Convention of 1865. That convention, not yet published at the time of the ratification of the American treaty of 1903, had supposedly signified China's assent to the clause granting freedom of residence which appeared in the Chinese but not in the French text of the French Convention of Peking, 1860. It was acknowledged by the imperial government's directions to the viceroys and provincial governors in October of 1894 to permit French missionaries to buy lands and dwellings anywhere in China[3] and by the subsequent statement in February, 1897, to Minister Charles A. Denby of the United States that American missionaries would be given similar treatment.[4] A more public recognition was given in the decree of the Emperor Kuang-hsu in August of 1895 exhorting all officials to protect every chapel or other mission building within their jurisdiction.[5]

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[3]Westel W. Willoughby, Foreign Rights and Interests in China (rev. ed.; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1927), II, 706-09.

[4]United States, Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1897 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), p. 62.

[5]Foreign Relations of the United States, 1895, I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), 103-04.

Although no formal engagements for their protection were entered into by China until the nineteenth century, Roman Catholic missionaries had been in the country since 1583, when Jesuits Michael Ruggerius and Matteo Ricci obtained a permanent residence near Canton.[6] The Roman Catholics therefore naturally had a larger church membership throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries than the Protestants possessed.[7] Nevertheless, even though Protestant missionaries did not reach China until 1807, they came in time to outnumber the Roman Catholic mission body. Already in 1889, hardly more than a generation after the opening of the first treaty ports enabled Protestants and their families to reside in other places than Canton and Macao, there were 589 men (391 of them married) and 316 single women in the Protestant mission group, while in 1890 639 foreign priests ministered to the Roman Catholic population. Of the foreign Protestants, two-fifths were from the United States (almost all of the remaining three-fifths being sent by British societies), a slightly smaller proportion than that of 1874 when forty-eight per cent of the 436 missionaries were from the United States.[8] By 1918-21, when the survey published in 1922 as The Christian

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[6] Latourette, p. 92.

[7] Latourette, pp. 329, 479, 537, 680, 740, 780.
Frank Rawlinson (ed.), The China Christian Year Book, 1936-37 (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1937), pp. 113, 130.

[8] Latourette, pp. 329, 406.

Occupation of China[9] was made, the United States Protestant missionaries assigned to China numbered 3305, fully as many as the 2218 members of the British and 758 of the Continental groups together,[10] and in fact outnumbered the 2500 foreign priests and nuns of the Roman Catholic church.[11] Though in 1936, after the energies of Roman Catholics in the United States had been poured into Chinese mission work since World War One,[12] the 5411 foreign Roman Catholic missionaries nearly equaled the 5721 Protestants reported in 1937,[13] the United States Protestant mission body still constituted half of the group of foreign Protestants at work in China. In addition, according to the findings reported in The Christian Occupation of China, Roman Catholics and Protestants each had approximately 700 centers in which foreign missionaries resided, with at least a few stations in every province.[14] Among the 693 Protestant residential centers, 198 were occupied exclusively by United States mission societies, and 278 by British missions. However, of the 1037 mission stations in these 693 centers, 399 belonged to United

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[9]Milton T. Stauffer (ed.), The Christian Occupation of China (Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922).

[10]Ibid., p. 346.

[11]Ibid., p. 460.

[12]Latourette, p. 540.

[13]China Christian Year Book, 1936-37, pp. 122, 462.

[14]Christian Occupation of China, pp. 345, 460-62.

States and 398 to British societies.[15] The part played by the Orthodox branch of Christianity in the modern missionary enterprise in China was negligible, for even at its peak in 1916 the Orthodox mission force had only twenty members.[16] Thus United States Protestant mission bodies taken as a national group achieved in numbers and approached in geographical distribution a plurality not only among Protestants but among all Christian missions. The story of their role as protectors of the Chinese around them therefore forms a significant chapter in the history of the relationships between the people of China and the Christian missionary body.

As we have just seen, by 1918-21 there were 693 separate centers where Protestant missionaries lived. Yet the collection of treaties between China and foreign states made by the Maritime Customs in 1917[17] shows only 70 ports open to trade and residence. When the handful of territories ceded or leased during the nineteenth century is added to that number, the total is less than two-fifths of the 399 centers in which the foreign Protestant residents were sent by United States missions exclusively. It does not even account for the 87 cities and towns in which representatives of more than one nation's Christian associations

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[15] Ibid., pp. 345-47.

[16] Latourette, pp. 741-42.

[17] China, Maritime Customs, Treaties, Conventions, etc., between China and Foreign States (2 vol., 2nd ed.; Shanghai: Inspectorate General of Customs, 1917).

were at work[18] and in the vast majority of which Americans were present. After 1860 the number of communities in which foreign Protestants resided grew far more rapidly than the number of treaty ports. In that year, there were still only fourteen Protestant missionary residential centers, although there were fifteen treaty ports and two ceded territories (counting Macao). By 1880, the 79 places where Protestant missionaries lived already outnumbered the 40 treaty ports by almost two to one. The gap between the two figures continued to grow throughout the next thirty years so that in 1900, even with the leased and ceded areas counted in addition, the 58 treaty ports could account only for one-sixth of the 348 foreign Protestant residential centers. By 1910 the 70 treaty ports could have included fewer than one-seventh of the 529 centers then open.[19] Thus it is evident that long before Article XIV of the commercial treaty of 1903 between China and the United States made explicit the rights of missionary societies not only to rent or lease in perpetuity real property in any part of China but to build on the property obtained, Protestant missions had multiplied far more rapidly over the face of China than had treaty-established centers of foreign residence. In fact, the same could be said of the United States mission societies

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[18] Christian Occupation of China, p. 345.

[19] Ibid., p. 283. These figures do not include the special administrative districts of Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet, although those given for the division of foreign residential centers among American, British, and other societies do include the negligible number of stations in those regions.

with whom this study is concerned, for as has been pointed out, they provided at least two-fifths of the entire Protestant mission force in China from 1870 onwards. By the time the twentieth century opened, therefore, United States Protestants were a part of the life of a much larger number of Chinese communities than those of their countrymen engaged in commercial pursuits.

Now that the geographical spread of United States Protestant missions in China has been delineated, it is necessary to examine the treaty provisions under which their members worked. The formal machinery of privileges and prohibitions was developed for United States nationals in a succession of treaties beginning with the Treaty of Wanghsia in 1844 and continuing through the Sino-American commercial treaty of 1903. An inspection of the evolution of that machinery will be followed by an inquiry into how it had come to operate in actual practice in the years immediately preceding 1900.

Until 1858, every foreigner whose nation had entered into treaty relations with the imperial government of China was entitled to the same privileges regardless of his vocation. By the Treaty of Wanghsia United States citizens were

> permitted to frequent the five ports of Quangchow, Amoy, Fuchow, Ningpo, and Shanghai, and to reside with their families and trade there.[20]

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[20] Customs Treaties, I, 678.

In addition, the treaty provided that

> citizens of the United States residing or sojourning at any of the ports open to foreign commerce shall enjoy all proper accommodation in obtaining houses and places of business, or in hiring sites from the inhabitants on which to construct houses and places of business, and also hospitals, churches, and cemeteries.[21]

Thus the missionary had the opportunity to build and dwell in China. It was only in the treaty ports, presumably for the chief if not sole benefit of his fellow-countrymen. Preparation for missionary work was made possible, however, by the provision that all United States citizens were free to employ scholars and language instructors and to buy books.[22] They were limited in their travels by the statement that at the five ports

> the citizens of the United States, merchants, seamen, or others sojourning there may pass and repass in the immediate neighbourhood; but they shall not at their pleasure make excursions into the country among the villages at large, nor shall they repair to public marts for the purpose of disposing of goods unlawfully.
>
> And in order to the preservation of the public peace, the local officers of government at each of the five ports shall, in concert with the consul, define the limits beyond which it shall not be lawful for a citizen of the United States to go.[23]

Therefore the area within which every United States citizen could move freely was to be a limited one until the treaty of 1858 permitted those who held passports greater liberty. Moreover, it was stated that

> if citizens of the United States have special occasion to address any communication to the Chinese local officers of government, they shall submit the same to their consul or other officer to determine

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[21] Ibid., I, 683.

[22] Ibid., I, 684.

[23] Ibid., I, 683-84.

> if the language be proper and respectful, and the matter just and right; in which event he shall transmit the same to the appropriate authorities for their consideration and action in the premises,[24]

so that the one point of contact between the foreigner and the Chinese government was to be the consul. Even if it were to happen that

> criminals, subjects of China, take refuge in the houses or on board the vessels of citizens of the United States, they shall not be harboured or concealed, but shall be delivered up to justice, on due requisition by the Chinese local officers addressed to those of the United States.[25]

Thus Chinese local officials were not even to enter the foreigner's grounds in the pursuit of their duties without consular authorization. Yet they were bound to watch over the safety of foreigners in their midst, for according to another article

> all citizens of the United States in China peaceably attending to their affairs, being placed on a common footing of amity and good-will with subjects of China, shall receive and enjoy, for themselves and everything appertaining to them, the special protection of the local authorities of government, who shall defend them from all insult or injury on the part of the Chinese.
>
> If their dwellings or their property be threatened or attacked by mobs, incendiaries, or other violent or lawless persons, the local officers, on requisition of the consul, will immediately despatch a military force to disperse the rioters, and will apprehend the guilty individuals and punish them with the utmost rigour of the law.[26]

Even here, however, they were expected to act "on requisition of the consul." This article, or rather its successor, Article XI of the Treaty of Tientsin of 1858, was still in active use fifty-four years later when

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[24] Ibid., I, 686.

[25] Ibid., I, 688. Italics mine.

[26] Ibid., I, 684.

P. W. McClintock wrote to United States Consul Edward Bedloe at Canton requesting him to demand that the viceroy of Kwangtung and Kwangsi send a force to Nodoa, Hainan, where a Triad Society rebellion was endangering Presbyterian property.[27]

Like several of the other articles granting a special position to United States citizens in China, Article XIX of the Treaty of Wanghsia was carried over bodily into the Treaty of Tientsin negotiated fourteen years later. Article XI of the latter treaty added to the previous promises of special protection the statement that either Chinese or United States authorities might arrest Chinese subjects who were guilty of criminal acts toward United States citizens or United States citizens who committed any "improper act" in China, but provided that the offender was to be punished only by the officials of his own nationality.[28] The explicit permission to employ scholars and language teachers was continued,[29] as was the requirement that United States citizens address local Chinese officials only through their consuls.[30] The stipulation that "private individuals in addressing superior officers shall employ the style of petition"[31] presumably was meant to apply to the communications

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[27] Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, China Letters: Hainan Mission, 1897-98, McClintock to Bedloe, received in New York on September 27, 1898.

[28] Customs Treaties, I, 717-18.

[29] Ibid., I, 724.

[30] Ibid., I, 725.

[31] Ibid., I, 716.

of private Chinese individuals with foreign consular officials. Permission to frequent, reside in, and trade in the five original ports was extended to include not only the new ports listed, but "any other port or place hereafter by treaty with other powers or with the United States opened to commerce,"[32] and the other rights of United States citizens were reiterated.[33] The clause granting the right to pass freely in the immediate neighborhood of the ports was reworded so that the latter part read

> They shall not go into the country to the villages and marts to sell their goods unlawfully in fraud of the revenue.[34]

The restrictions on non-commercial country travel, in other words, were dropped. No mention of delimiting the area to be regarded as the immediate neighborhood of the newly-opened ports was made, though the French treaty did make such a provision.[35] The great change in the position of the missionary, however, was wrought by the inclusion of Article XXIX, commonly known as the "toleration clause." It stated that

> the principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, are recognised as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Hereafter, those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any persons, whether citizens of the United States or Chinese converts, who according to these tenets peaceably teach and practise

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[32] Ibid., I, 719.

[33] Ibid., I, 718.

[34] Ibid., I, 718.

[35] Ibid., I, 819.

> the principles of Christianity shall in no case be interfered with or molested.[36]

The last sentence of this article gave specific recognition to the missionary's right to preach to the Chinese, and promised a certain amount of safety to the convert. That promise was implemented first by the imperial edict of 1860 commanding local officials to investigate thoroughly and decide justly in all cases affecting Christians. Two years later Prince Kung, chief minister of foreign affairs, instructed provincial officials not to compel converts to contribute to temple maintenance or non-Christian religious processions, theatricals, and celebrations.[37]

The additional articles to the treaty of 1858 drawn up ten years later under the watchful eye of Anson Burlingame extended liberty of conscience and freedom from religious persecution to all Chinese and Americans in each other's countries regardless of belief,[38] and provided that United States citizens should be free to establish and maintain schools in the treaty ports.[39] In addition, Article VI stated that

> citizens of the United States visiting or residing in China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, or exemptions in respect to travel or residence as may there by enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation,[40]

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[36] Ibid., I, 726.

[37] Willoughby, II, 705.

[38] Customs Treaties, I, 731.

[39] Ibid., I, 732.

[40] Ibid., I, 732.

a statement rendered particularly desirable in view of the Chinese text of Article VI of the French Convention of Peking granting missionaries the right to obtain property in the interior. The existence of the Berthemy Convention in which the Chinese recognized the validity of that text was in 1868 still only rumored among the diplomats of other nations, though they acted on the assumption, never denied by China, of its acceptance. Even when the second collection of treaties compiled by the Maritime Customs of China was published in 1917, the Berthemy Convention was not included in it. Not until 1928 did the French minister in China give a copy of it to the American minister.[41] The provision in Article XIII of the French Treaty of Tientsin, 1858, that

> une protection efficace sera donnée aux missionnaires qui se rendront pacifiquement dans l'intérieur du pays, munis des passeports réguliers dont il est parlé dans l'article huit,[42]

was definitely assured to United States Protestant missionaries by Article VI of the American treaty, however. The nature and use of the passports provided for by Article VIII of the French treaty were described thus:

> Les Français qui voudront se rendre dans les villes de l'intérieur ou dans les ports où ne sont pas admis les navires étrangers, pourront le faire en toute sûreté à la condition expresse d'être munis de passeports, rédigés en français et en chinois, légalement délivrés par les agents diplomatiques ou les consuls de France en Chine et visés par les autorités chinoises.

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[41] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1928, II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), 577.

[42] Customs Treaties, I, 821.

Nevertheless, care was taken to stipulate that

> ainsi que cela était stipulé dans les anciens traités, les Français résidant ou de passage dans les ports ouverts au commerce étranger pourront circuler, sans passeports, dans leur voisinage immédiat, et y vaguer à leurs occupations aussi librement que les nationaux; mais ils ne pourront dépasser certaines limites que seront fixées, de commun accord, entre le consul et l'autorité locale.[43]

It was because of the protection thus promised to all individuals possessed of proper passports, but in particular to missionaries, that the latter could hope to circulate with some degree of security in the interior. Though both they and their commercially-engaged countrymen expanded that privilege to include the buying and leasing of real property wherever the officials were willing to allow it, even in the treaty of 1903 between China and the United States such transactions became legal only for mission societies. As the United States Department of State pointed out, only the force of custom lent a form of quasi-legality to other land purchases.[44] The emigration treaty of 1894 between China and the United States did, in fact, recognize the existing state of affairs by promising that

> within twelve months from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, and annually, thereafter, it will furnish to the government of China registers or reports showing the full name, age, occupation, and number or place of residence of all other citizens of the United States, including missionaries, residing both within and without the treaty ports of China, not including, however, diplomatic or other officers of the United States residing or

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[43] Ibid., I, 819.

[44] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1906, I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 277-78.

> travelling in China upon official business, together with their body and household servants.[45]

In the Sino-American commercial treaty of 1903, the position of United States citizens was set forth in Article III as follows:

> Citizens of the United States may frequent, reside and carry on trade, industries and manufactures, or pursue any lawful avocation, in all the ports or localities of China which are now open or may hereafter be opened to foreign residence and trade; and, within the suitable localities at those places which have been or may be set apart for the use and occupation of foreigners, they may rent or purchase houses, places of business and other buildings, and rent or lease in perpetuity land and build thereon. They shall generally enjoy as to their persons and property all such rights, privileges and immunities as are or may be hereafter granted to the subjects or citizens of the nation the most favored in these respects.[46]

The scope of foreign activity in the treaty ports was thus broadened slightly, since no specifications were made as to the purposes to which those engaged in "trade, industries and manufacture, or . . . any lawful avocation" might put the land and buildings in their possession. All the other provisions of previous treaties in force at the opening of the twentieth century were continued by Article XVIII, "except in so far as they are modified by the present treaty or other treaties to which the United States is a party."[47] The one set of modifications which affected the missionary were the additions made in Article XIV to the three sentences of Article XXIX of the treaty of 1858 with which this new version of the "toleration clause" began. The first of those additions,

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[45] Customs Treaties, I, 743.

[46] Ibid., I, 747.

[47] Ibid., I, 756.

"No restrictions shall be placed on Chinese joining Christian churches," resembled the sentence in Article XIII of the French Treaty of Tientsin in 1858,

> Aucune entrave ne sera apportée par les autorités de l'empire chinois au droit qui est reconnu à tout individu en Chine d'embrasser, s'il le veut, le Christianisme et d'en suivre les pratiques, sans être passible d'aucune peine infligée pour ce fait.[48]

The next resulted from the situation obtaining in the years surrounding 1900. At that time the fear of foreign wrath, or at least of incurring their superiors' displeasure by provoking foreign wrath, had led a number of local magistrates customarily to give judgments favoring the persons who either professed Christianity or (better yet) succeeded in interesting the foreign missionary in their cases. These were the conditions under which the first great conflict of conscience on the part of United States Protestant missionaries had arisen, for they did not wish to see their converts in effect removed from the jurisdiction of the Chinese government by a treaty provision meant only to ensure their freedom of worship. Therefore it was stated that

> converts and non-converts, being Chinese subjects, shall alike conform to the laws of China; and shall pay due respect to those in authority, living together in peace and amity; and the fact of being converts shall not protect them from the consequences of any offense they may have committed before or may commit after their admission into the church, or exempt them from paying legal taxes levied on Chinese subjects generally, except taxes levied and contributions for the support of religious customs and practices contrary to their faith. Missionaries shall not interfere with the exercise by the native authorities of their jurisdiction over Chinese subjects; nor shall the native authorities make any distinction between

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[48] Ibid., I, 821.

> converts and non-converts, but shall administer the laws without partiality so that both classes can live together in peace.[49]

The last modification was the granting of the special right which mission societies (not even missionaries as individuals) alone possessed legally from that time on, the right to obtain land anywhere in China. Other classes of foreigners had to rely as before solely upon local good will to receive similar privileges. By the terms of that section,

> missionary societies of the United States shall be permitted to rent and to lease in perpetuity, as the property of such societies, buildings or lands in all parts of the empire for missionary purposes and, after the title deeds have been found in order and duly stamped by the local authorities, to erect such suitable buildings as may be required for carrying on their good work.[49]

Thus by the early years of the twentieth century, missions, in particular the United States Protestant missions with which this study deals, had become a recognized part of Chinese society through the privileges of travel, residence, and leasehold accorded their members. Yet they remained foreign entities, for their members were subject only to United States authorities, their properties could be entered by the Chinese authorities only with the permission of United States officials, and in theory they were to deal with the local government only through the authorities of their own nationality. However, local Chinese officials were bound to send military forces when necessary to protect their persons and property, and to respect the freedom of conscience guaranteed their converts. The responsibility for the safety of the missionaries was thereby divided between Chinese and Western officials, rather than

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[49] Ibid., I, 755.

confined to the consuls with whom alone a missionary was theoretically supposed to communicate when he was endangered. With the spread of missionaries beyond the limits of the treaty ports in which consuls were to be found, it can readily be imagined that the treaty regulations establishing the consul as intermediary in all relationships between his nationals and members of the Chinese administration were drastically modified or even disregarded in practice. By the end of the nineteenth century, in fact, direct communication between missionaries and Chinese officials was so common that in 1899 the imperial government sought to regularize it by granting official rank to missionaries. The Roman Catholic hierarchy accepted the offer, and for nine years its members bore imperial titles corresponding to their priestly rank;[50] but the Protestants, following the lead of the Southern Presbyterian mission and the British and American bishops of the Episcopal church,[51] did not. We shall now turn to the years immediately preceding that offer, and examine the situation which produced it.

During the years just prior to 1900, China was awakened from her complacent belief that her position as "chung-kuo," the "middle kingdom" of the Far East, would forever be secure. Earlier encroachments made by Britain, France, and Russia upon outlying districts of

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[50] Latourette, pp. 499-501.

[51] J. W. Davis, "Aggressive Rome," The Missionary, XXXIII (February, 1900), 68.

her far-flung empire had not been generally regarded as losses of vital territories; but when in 1894 Japan went to war over Korea, and struck through Manchuria towards the very capital of the empire, all China was aroused. Each successive concession or lease granted to Western states in the years 1898 and 1899 stirred up fresh resentment, so that by the end of 1899 the people of the north China plain were beginning the attack upon all foreigners regardless of their national origin which is spoken of as the Boxer movement. It is against this background of the Sino-Japanese War and the subsequent scramble for concessions that we shall study the operation of the treaty clauses dealing with the safety of the United States Protestant missionary and his converts which have just been described.

The imperial administration restated its treaty-defined responsibility toward Westerners within its territorial limits at the outset of the Sino-Japanese War. Two days after the outbreak of hostilities, the Tsungli Yamen or department for foreign affairs informed the United States chargé d'affaires that China, being at peace with every nation except Japan, undertook to maintain the safety of all merchants and missionaries within her borders.[52] In accordance with that promise, the Tartar generals, governors-general, and provincial governors were to be exhorted "to take precautionary measures and issue warning instructions that the common people must be ordered not, by mistake, to create

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[52] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1894 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), p. 128.

any trouble or disturbance."[53] In Peking and in Nanking, all Western-occupied compounds were posted with proclamations informing the literate populace that these foreigners were not involved in the war of Japan against China, and were to be treated with the same respect as before.[54] In addition an imperial decree was issued instructing the police of Peking to be especially watchful for the safety of the missionaries.[55] Nevertheless, anti-foreign placards did appear in Canton. At Denby's request the Tsungli Yamen reiterated its command to protect foreigners to the viceroy of the two Kwangs.[56]

Despite the orders emanating from Peking, however, local officials did not always prevent anti-foreign demonstrations. In mid-1895, the agitation of the Chinese populace burst out in attacks upon Protestant missionaries in the two widely-separated provinces of Szechwan and Fukien. The riots in Szechwan, which were most violent in Chengtu but within a week affected missionaries all over the western portion of the province, destroyed the property both of Roman Catholic missions under French protection and of Protestants of United States and British societies

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[53] Ibid., p. 128.

[54] Ibid., p. 132.
Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters, Central China Mission, 1893-94, W. J. Drummond in Nanking to R. E. Speer in New York, October 17, 1894.

[55] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1894, p. 133.

[56] Ibid., p. 152.

at work in that area. The missionaries in Chengtu succeeded in telegraphing a call for help to the British consul at Chungking on May 29th, after having had to flee to the magistrates' yamens or courtyards for safety. The consul's appeal to Peking brought immediate imperial orders to save the foreigners and calm the people.[57] These riots produced instant indignation on the part of American missionaries. The insistence of the United States Protestants of Shanghai upon a purely American commission of investigation, despite the fact that the British and French had suffered more heavily, was one of three important factors in the eventual setting-up of such a commission. The other two factors were the slowness of the British in providing their members of a proposed joint Anglo-American commission, and the early settlement by the Roman Catholic missionaries[58] of the indemnities in which France interested herself. The agitations of the American missionaries also helped to ensure continued pressure by the United States legation upon the Tsungli Yamen not only for the payment of indemnity, but for the degradation of officials whose complicity in the riots or failure to assist foreigners (particularly Americans) caught in them was clear.[59] The three-member

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[57] Alfred Cunningham (comp.), A History of the Szechwan Riots (Shanghai: Shanghai Mercury Office, 1895).

[58] The Roman Catholics had remained at their posts, unlike the Protestants, who felt it necessary to take their wives and children downriver for safety.

[59] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1895, I, 87-182, passim. Ibid., 1896 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), pp. 46-57.

American investigating commission,[60] accompanied by two missionaries, held its last sitting at Chengtu on December 28th, 1895.[61] By that time not only had the ex-viceroy of Szechwan been deprived permanently of the privilege of holding office but six of the riot's leaders had been executed, seventeen had been sentenced to lesser punishments, five officials had been reported to the emperor for removal from office, and the deposed police chief of Chengtu was awaiting punishment together with yet another five officials.[62] Moreover, the Emperor had publicly ordered the protection of all missionary establishments.[63] As one of the American Baptist missionaries who had gone through the riots stated in his report for the year,

> The officials have been dealt with according to the reports of missionaries and consuls. Those who did their best to prevent an outbreak have been promoted, and those who either helped on the riots or were indifferent have been degraded to a man. About twelve officials of different ranks have been dismissed from service. While we do not look to these circumstances as indications of progress in mission work, we must recognize their helpfulness. The officials have found out that the foreigners residing in their district, prefecture or province have something to do with their promotion or degradation. Hence they are obliged to treat us civilly and protect us for their own sakes. As soon as the people find that the officials do not allow us to be ill-treated, they will act accordingly.[64]

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[60] Ibid., 1895, I, 147.

[61] J. Vale, "The Missionaries' Return to Chengtu," China's Millions, May, 1896, p. 65.

[62] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1895, I, 157, 162.

[63] Ibid., I, 103-04.

[64] Annual Report of the American Baptist Missionary Union, 1896 (New York: American Baptist Missionary Union, 1896), pp. 168-69.

The imperial decree commanding that foreign missions be protected was called forth not only by the occurrences of late May and early June in Szechwan, but by the killing of eleven British subjects and wounding of one United States citizen at Hwasang (Huashan) in Fukien on the first of August. This, the most violent attack made on foreigners since the Tientsin riots of June, 1870,[65] brought resolutions from the United States missionaries of Canton which demanded as emphatically as those passed in the preceding month by their fellows at Shanghai the public proclamation of the expanded rights and privileges they felt should be granted to foreigners in China.[66] Although the direct interest of the United States in the primarily British disaster was relatively small, United States Consul J. Courtney Hixson and Commander J. S. Newell of the Detroit went to Kutienhsien as part of a joint Anglo-American commission. The commission took a direct interest in the trials rather than confining itself to investigation as had the Americans in Szechwan.[67] Twenty-six in all were executed, but despite Denby's correspondence with the Tsungli Yamen, in which he reminded that body of the treatment meted out to guilty officials in Szechwan, only three of the eighteen officials whom Hixson and Newell felt to have displayed anti-foreign

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[65] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1895, I, 114-16.

[66] "Indignation in China," Foreign Missionary Journal, XLVI (November, 1895), 14.

[67] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1895, I, 98-195, passim.

tendencies before or after the attack were punished.[68] The one wounded American was paid an indemnity for her injuries, although the British Church Missionary Society asked nothing for its slain members,[69] a circumstance which as J. A. Archibald of the National Bible Society of Scotland remarked fifteen years later served mainly to make the people of the region think "that the American missionary was probably related to the President of the United States, while the British missionaries were persons of no account."[70]

In these, the largest disturbances affecting United States Protestant missions during 1895, the vigorous action taken by American diplomats secured ample redress for their fellow-countrymen. The observation of that fact by the Chinese helped to build up the prestige of power possessed by United States Protestants. However, both then and in the next few years missionaries continued to find it necessary to ask assistance because they or their property were attacked.[71] Sometimes

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[68] Ibid., 1895, I, 161, 163, 170.
Ibid., 1896 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), pp. 65-70.
Ibid., 1897, pp. 63-66, 85.

[69] Ibid., 1896, p. 65.
Ibid., 1897, p. 84.

[70] J. Archibald, "The Case for Indemnities," Chinese Recorder, XLI (November, 1910), 723.

[71] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1895, I, 101-02, 148-49.
Ibid., 1896, pp. 70-83.
Ibid., 1897, pp. 99-102.

it was anti-foreign literature that was protested.[72] More often, though, it was a riot such as that at Kucheng, Fukien, early in January of 1897. When stones were thrown and shots fired at the Methodist Episcopal girls' boarding school there, the district magistrate was promptly notified. He did nothing. The United States consul at Foochow, however, not only informed both the Peking legation and the Fukien viceroy, but made a personal investigation of the affair. Thanks to the efforts of the United States minister, the Tsungli Yamen brought about the dismissal of the magistrate, and the missionaries breathed more freely

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Ibid., 1898 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), pp. 191, 193-94, 197-200, 210-16.

Ibid., 1899 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), pp. 154-64.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XV, No. 43.

Ibid., Vol. XX, Nos. 107, 184.

Ibid., Vol. XXI, Nos. 53, 54, 185.

Division of World Missions of the Methodist Church, Missionary Correspondence: Box 10, F. M. Woolsey in Chungking to New York, March 17, 1898. (Microfilmed.)

Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: Hainan Mission, 1898, No. 110.

Ibid., West Shantung Mission, 1898, No. 56.

Ibid., West Shantung Mission, 1899, Nos. 16, 18.

"The Kiangyin Riot," The Missionary, XXIX (August, 1896), 349-50.

Lacy L. Little, "Report from Kiangyin," The Missionary, XXXI (May, 1898), 224-26.

"Dr. Woolsey Mobbed in West China," World-Wide Missions, X (March, 1898), 6.

"Diary of Events in the Far East," Chinese Recorder, XXIX (April, 1898), 205.

[72] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1895, I, 154-56.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XX, No. 192.

Ibid., Vol. XXI, No. 195.

thereafter.[73] It was during the months of negotiation over the Kucheng riot that Denby presented to the Tsungli Yamen the request of the United States government for a formal imperial decree stating the right of missionaries to reside in the interior and to obtain land there. In addition, he asked for decrees holding not only local but provincial officials responsible for anti-missionary outbreaks and dealing summarily with all who might be implicated in them, and requested that all these decrees be posted in every yamen or magisterial courtyard in China, in place of the usual method of transmitting them only to the higher officials of the provinces. The Tsungli Yamen replied that American missionaries would be given the same treatment as French missionaries, tacitly acknowledging the existence of the Berthemy Convention.[74] Several times, however, it was felt advisable to make the formal settlement of a riot include the specific statement that the affected mission would be able to lease or purchase property in the offending district. The mission's prestige in the area was naturally enhanced by such an outcome. Few, therefore, were the cities in which more than one riot occurred between 1895 and 1899.

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[73] Methodist Church, Missionary Correspondence: Box 10, W. A. Main in Foochow to New York, May 22, 1897. (Microfilmed.) "Hok-Chiang Persecutions," Bulletin of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Fuhkien, No. 7 (May, 1897), p. 4.

[74] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1896, pp. 62-64. Ibid., 1897, pp. 60-63.

As accounts of the various riots indicate, United States Protestant missionaries went not only to their consuls to secure protection, as prescribed by treaty, but directly to local Chinese officials. It was only to be expected that in an emergency, with a riot or potential riot at his very gates, a missionary would send immediately to local authorities rather than wait the hours, days, or even weeks necessary to receive consular assistance. The wide geographical distribution of mission stations was what brought about the breakdown of the treaty-established system in which consuls carried on all transactions between their nationals and the Chinese government. On the island of Hainan, the American Presbyterians at Nodoa sent their requests for troops to the taotai or prefect by way of the British consul at Kiungchow[75] before appealing to their own consul at Canton, but that was an unusual observation of rules laid down in a period when foreigners, being in fact as well as in theory confined to a few small areas, could communicate quickly and easily with their consuls. In most cases, United States Protestants only took an incident to their consuls after the first violence of the storm had passed, if indeed they chose to report it at all. In a number of instances they succeeded, so far as their available writings reveal, in obtaining official assistance sufficient to quiet the atmosphere without bringing in either consulate

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[75] Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: Hainan Mission, 1898, No. 110.

or legation.[76] One missionary, for instance, was set upon by drunken yamen runners while traveling about a hundred miles northwest of Nanking. When he returned to Nanking, he merely requested of the officials there that "the officials of the cities of the region where we were working be asked to instruct their underlings." Nevertheless, the magistrate of the district had several of the attackers beaten.[77] However, missionaries did not go to the yamens only when destructive assaults on their persons or property were either threatened or actually carried into effect. They consulted directly with the magistrates about thefts, too, although these could not be as readily placed under the heading of

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[76] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. V, No. 110.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XVII, No. 162.
Ibid., Vol. XX, No. 25.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.13, Vol. VIII, No. 47.
Annual Report of the American Baptist Missionary Union, 1900 (New York: American Baptist Missionary Union, 1900), p. 154.
A. Sydenstricker, "Encounter with Chinese Soldiers," The Missionary, XXVIII (February, 1895), 85-86.
T. J. Preston, "Traveling in Hunan," The Missionary Record, XXIV (July, 1898), 5.
Oliver T. Logan, "A Great City," The Missionary Record, XXIV (October, 1898), 110.
"From L. W. Pierce," Foreign Mission Journal, XLIX (October, 1898), 163.
P. W. Pitcher, "Some Notes from Amoy," Mission Field, XI (February, 1899), 320-22.
Archibald Guinness Adams, "Joseph Samuel Adams of China" (unpublished Th. D. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, 1940), pp. 284-85.
W. H. Oldfield, Pioneering in Kwangsi (Harrisburg, Pa.: Christian Publications, 1936), pp. 90-91, 100-03.

[77] Annual Station Reports of the Central China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America for the Year 1897-1898 (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1898), p. 46.

emergencies as could riots, stonings, and incendiarism.[78] In short, though the treaty-stipulated consular avenue of communication was retained in practice for attacks of such gravity that missionaries believed that neither they nor the local officials were coping with them adequately, for the sake of convenience it was bypassed in less serious situations. The missionary, by representing himself in his dealings with the Chinese administration, acted as his own "consul." Thereby he became clothed in the eyes of the Chinese with a certain amount of the prestige possessed by consuls with foreign gunboats at their beck and call.

However, the person and property of the Christian missionary were not all that the treaties safeguarded. As will be recalled, his converts were promised that they would not be molested for their faith. By virtue of that sentence, the missionary was able to aid the members of his church when they were persecuted for their beliefs. The convert and even the inquirer went freely to the foreign missionary, in the hope that he would be willing to assist them. From the outcome of his dealings with the local officials either directly or through his consul, they

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[78] Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: South China Mission, Canton, 1898, No. 6.

Chinese Recorder, XXVII (March, 1896), 155.

"An Official Visitation by Bishop Graves," Spirit of Missions, LXII (February, 1897), 79-80.

"The New 'Civilization' at Hangchow," The Missionary, XXXI (February, 1898), 79-80.

B. C. Patterson, "Annual Report of Suchien Station," The Missionary, XXXII (March, 1899), 119.

W. F. Junkin, "Itinerating in North Kiangsu," The Missionary, XXXII (May, 1899), 216.

knew that he was usually able to protect himself and what pertained to him. Because of that, they expected that if he could be persuaded to do so, he would be equally able to help them in their difficulties with their neighbors. Those difficulties for a Protestant convert of the nineteenth century were not few, either, for though the Roman Catholics often gathered their converts into villages composed entirely of Christians, Protestants usually remained in the household and village of their birth.[79] The sympathy which the United States Protestant missionary with whom this study deals felt for his adherents' woes led him to act on their behalf in many instances when they convinced him that they were being discriminated against or mistreated because of their Christian faith. As in cases involving his own safety, the missionary preferred to communicate directly with the local officials about Chinese converts' grievances rather than take the time to go through his consul. Moreover, in every part of China United States Protestant missionaries believed as did British subject John Ross at Mukden that a respectful and friendly approach to the magistrate was productive of better feeling than a legal and formal appeal through the consul, which should be held in reserve as a last resort.[80] Therefore, in their desire to help their people and in their belief that direct dealings with the Chinese officials were preferable to consular action for the sake both of convenience and of good will,

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[79] Latourette, p. 334.

[80] John Ross, "The Status of Missionaries," Chinese Recorder, XXXI (May, 1900), 238-42.

United States Protestants from Chihli to Kwangtung went or wrote to magistrates on behalf of their converts in the years immediately preceding the Boxer uprising.[81] Even in the opening months of 1900, while the Boxers were creating havoc among the Christian communities of north China, they continued to meet with a fair amount of success when

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[81] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. V, Nos. 127, 161.
Ibid., Vol. VI, Nos. 109, 334.
Ibid., Vol. VII, Nos. 276, 283.
Ibid., Vol. VIII, Nos. 174, 232.
Ibid., Vol. XIV, No. 95.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.8: Vol. V, No. 70.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XV, Nos. 63, 90.
Ibid., Vol. XVI, Nos. 4, 18.
Ibid., Vol. XVII, Nos. 49, 74, 121, 132.
Ibid., Vol. XX, Nos. 181, 185.
Ibid., Vol. XXI, Nos. 191, 365.
Ibid., Vol. XXII, No. 97.
American Board ABC: 16.3.15: Vol. IV, No. 496.
Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: Canton Mission, 1899, No. 134.
Report of the American Presbyterian Mission, Canton, for the Year 1896 (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1896), p. 25.
Annual Report of the American Baptist Missionary Union, 1897 (New York: American Baptist Missionary Union, 1897), p. 138.
"Missionary Notes," Chinese Recorder, XXVI (February, 1895), 95.
"Missionary News," Chinese Recorder, XXVI (July, 1895), 345.
E. S. Little, "An Incident in Mission Work," Chinese Recorder, XXIX (June, 1898), 270-72.
"Letter from Mrs. M. Alice Williams," Life and Light, XXVI (September, 1896), 421.
J. S. Adams, "Divine Deliverance at Wu-shih-ping," Baptist Missionary Magazine, LXXIX (January, 1899), 24-25.
J. Linton Stuart, "Missionaries and Chinese Courts," The Missionary, XXXIII (June, 1900), 266.
W. N. Brewster, "The Chinese Christians and Idol Taxes," Gospel in All Lands, May, 1899, p. 232.
William H. Jefferys, James Addison Ingle (New York: Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, 1913), p. 163.
Henry D. Porter, William Scott Ament (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1911), pp. 152-53.
B. A. Garside, One Increasing Purpose: The Life of Henry Winters Luce (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1948), pp. 90-91.

they took their converts' and inquirers' complaints to the officials of central and southern China.[82] Those complaints ranged from crop-stealing to the breaking of betrothals by non-Christian families when a prospective bride or bridegroom became a convert, and were ordinarily settled in a way reasonably satisfactory to the one who felt himself wronged. The missionaries did not always take the cause of the convert or inquirer who came to the mission for temporal assistance to the local officials, however. D. W. Clapp of the American Board at Taiku, for example, merely kept one young man within the shelter of the mission by enrolling him in a helpers' study group.[83] Nor was protection invariably sought by wholly innocent parties. In fact, at least one missionary found that he had to keep his calling cards under lock and key lest they be stolen to be used as a sign of his presumed interest in various legal cases.[84] Experiences such as this led United States Protestants to be careful in their use of the privilege allowed them, by custom rather than by law, of calling upon or writing to the officials of the communities in

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[82]American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XIV, No. 95.

J. Linton Stuart, "Missionaries and Chinese Courts," The Missionary, XXXIII (June, 1900), 266-68.

Idem, "Persecution at Kuding," The Missionary, XXXIII (July, 1900), 313-15.

E. B. Ward, "On the West River," Woman's Evangel, XIX (August, 1900), 136-37.

Idem, "Country Work," Woman's Evangel, XIX (October, 1900), 168.

R. E. Chambers, "A New Chapel," Foreign Mission Journal, LI (August, 1900), 47.

[83]American Board, ABC: 16.3.15: Vol. IV, No. 54.

[84]Letter from Mrs. Jacob Speicher to author, March 22, 1956.

which they lived. On the occasions when they did learn of a trouble-maker who was using the Christian name as a cloak, their practice was to inform the local magistrate that the man had no claim upon their protection and that so far as they were concerned the official could do as he wished with the offender.[85]

Not always did the missionary succeed in helping the Chinese who came to him for succor without demanding formally through his consul that the treaty provisions for toleration towards Chinese Christians be enforced. Though he preferred to see whatever Chinese cases he undertook settled within the framework of the Chinese administration, he would if it seemed necessary request consular aid. Usually, of course, United States Protestant missionaries could rely only upon United States consuls. However, such men as J. S. Adams, who though a British subject was a representative of the American Baptist Missionary Union, possessed a special advantage in the eyes of their Chinese adherents, for if an affair necessitated consular attention, they could appeal not merely to one but to two consuls to press the case.[86] From Chihli and Shantung[87] to Fukien, Kiangsi, Hunan, and Kwangtung[88] United States

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[85] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXI, No. 365.
Jefferys, J. A. Ingle, p. 163.

[86] A. G. Adams, "J. S. Adams," p. 561.

[87] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1899, pp. 154-62, 171, 174, 177-78.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XV, Nos. 41, 57, 84.
Ibid., Vol. XX, No. 185.
Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: North China Mission, 1899, No. 1.
Ibid., West Shantung Mission, 1899, Nos. 3, 52, 61.

[88] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1895, I, 134-35,

Protestants took the unsettled grievances of their adherents to the nearest consul and requested his assistance in enforcing the toleration clause of the treaty of 1858. Whether the affair involved murder, land-theft, house-burning, or the exaction of payments for customary rites which were no longer practiced by the Christian convert at festivals and funerals, the consulate or in difficult cases the legation was usually able to obtain redress for the injury.

Although missionaries normally found their consuls to be nearly as solicitous of the Christians' welfare as they themselves were, in 1900 one United States consul did protest the direct contacts made by missionaries in his district with its Chinese officials. An examination of the incident is worth while because it displays how missionaries acted for their converts, going first to the official and using the consul only if a case were not quickly settled. It also shows the semi-official sanction

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165-66, 180-81.

Ibid., 1896, pp. 82-87.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. VII, Nos. 150, 276.

Ibid., Vol. VIII, No. 232.

Methodist Church, Missionary Correspondence: Box 10, George B. Smyth in Foochow to New York, October 3, 1895. (Microfilmed.)

Ibid., Box 10, W. A. Main in Foochow to New York, May 22, 1897. (Microfilmed.)

Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: Canton Mission, 1896, No. 58.

Annual Report of the American Baptist Missionary Union, 1897, p. 145.

W. H. Lingle, "The First Church in Hunan," Chinese Recorder, XXIX (October, 1898), 488-93.

William Ashmore, "Outrages on American Baptist Mission at Kho-khoi, near Swatow," Chinese Recorder, XXVII (August-November, 1896), 365-74, 423-32, 484-93, 535-46.

"Correspondence," Chinese Recorder, XXXIX (May, 1908), 272.

given by the Chinese administration to this practice, an acceptance which had led in 1899 to the previously-mentioned attempt to give it full legal standing by granting official rank to missionaries. Consul Samuel Gracey at Foochow wrote to G. H. Hubbard of the American Board in May of 1900 that if he did not cease communicating directly with magistrates rather than sending the letters through the consulate, he would ask the Department of State to revoke Hubbard's passport. The next day Gracey informed L. H. Peet of the same mission that the consul must be the intermediary in all dealings with the local officials. Hubbard had written the magistrate on behalf of a Christian who believed that his case was not being brought to the magistrate's attention because the yamen underlings wished the Christian to bribe them, very much as J. E. Walker had earlier in the year requested the Kienyang magistrate to release a Christian who as the magistrate himself admitted was imprisoned without cause, a case which eventually went to the consulate in Foochow. Ten days later Gracey was sent a letter by Charles Hartwell, corresponding secretary of the mission, reminding him that thirty years before, the governor of Fukien had requested the American Board and Methodist Episcopal missionaries to deal directly with local officials rather than take the time to go through the consulate. Hartwell had been present on that occasion. Hartwell further called to Gracey's attention that not only his predecessors at the consulate but he himself in a previous term of service had approved of the arrangement, and

protested the instructions sent to the subprefect of Nantai and the magistrates of the Min and Houkuan districts not to accept letters which did not come through the consulate.[89] According to H. N. Kinnear, however, Gracey not only did not revoke them but insisted that the officials of every hsien or county be similarly notified.[90] Hartwell, Walker, and Kinnear protested to United States Minister Edwin H. Conger in Peking that they were dissatisfied with the attitude and actions of Gracey's interpreter;[91] but the affair was lost to sight among the more frightening events occurring in north China.[92]

Thus we have seen that in the last few years of the nineteenth century United States Protestant missionaries, like other missionaries in China, used their own position and the promise of safety given in the treaties to their Chinese converts in the protective efforts they made on behalf of Chinese Christians who were in one way or another molested by their neighbors. United States Protestants had spread by 1900 into every region of China. This meant that through customary usage they

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[89] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. IX, Nos. 127-134, 249.

[90] Ibid., Vol. XIII, No. 2.

[91] Ibid., Vol. IX, No. 134.

[92] Gracey may well have had the support of the British consul at Foochow in his course, since during June of 1900 notice of the latter's order forbidding missionaries to write directly to officials was in one city posted in six different locations. American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XII, No. 38.

acquired the privilege of direct communication with Chinese officials on matters affecting themselves and their adherents, a right which the treaties had reserved exclusively to consuls. The missionaries by no means accepted every case which came to them, as is indicated not only by a number of the reports cited in the preceding pages but by a survey of all Protestant missions in China conducted in 1899.[93] However, when they did take a case to the officials, they were more often than not successful in obtaining a settlement which was reasonably satisfactory to them. Thus at the turn of the century the Chinese had reason in the temporal scheme of things to regard them as men of great influence. By their prestige of power, their ability as foreigners to call upon the powerful backing of their native land, they could when they wished shelter Chinese not only from their neighbors but from their officials as well. Even after United States Protestant missionaries had long since ceased to consider it either necessary or advisable to go to magistrates and consuls on behalf of persecuted Christians, the memory of those days was a factor in the security which amid the storm and strife of the first four decades of the twentieth century the mission compound was to offer not only to its regular inhabitants but to the many others who came to it for safety.

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[93] Paul D. Bergen, "Should We Endeavor to Keep All Church Troubles out of the Yamen?," Chinese Recorder, XXX (June-July, 1899), 261-68, 328-35.

CHAPTER II

THE EXTENSION OF MISSION PROTECTION TO NON-CHRISTIANS

The concessions demanded by various European nations in China during 1898 and 1899 were resented as previous grants of treaty ports and special privileges had been. Nowhere was the expression of feeling more bitter than in Shantung, where the killing of two German Roman Catholic priests had afforded Germany an excuse to seize the territory around Kiaochow Bay early in 1898 and to demand railway and mining concessions in the interior of the province. Within a few months anti-foreign societies were to be found in both Chihli and Shantung, drilling their members in magical incantations designed to make them invulnerable to the powerful weapons of the foreigner. Christians as well as their Western pastors were looked upon as enemies of China by these societies, since it was on behalf of their converts that the missionaries came to grips most frequently with the guardians of the age-old mores of the community. Christians in Shantung were robbed, burned out of their homes, assaulted, and even killed, while missionaries wrote in vain to officials Chinese and foreign seeking protection for them. Emboldened by the tacit consent of the mandarins, the Boxer and Big Knife movements increased their activities during 1899. The outcry this development

raised among the legations in Peking was an important factor in inducing the imperial court to transfer the governor of Shantung, Yü Hsien, to Shansi at the close of 1899. His successor, Yuan Shih-kai, dealt with the anti-foreign societies promptly and firmly. By April, 1900, most of Shantung was relatively tranquil. However, within three months Chihli, Shansi, and northern Honan were ablaze with a fire of hatred that was to consume some two hundred thirty foreign and over thirty thousand Chinese lives before it was quenched, and to kindle a responsive fire in American Protestants' hearts for many a year at the mention of Taiku, Fenchowfu, and Paotingfu, where none of the American Board and American Presbyterian missionaries present during that fatal summer survived.[1] In Peking itself, the legations were besieged in June by a mixture of Boxers and imperial troops. At Tientsin an international force took the city after a month's fighting and started inland toward Peking in July. On August 14th, 1900, it rescued the diplomats, missionaries, and Chinese Christians concentrated in the British legation and the Roman Catholic cathedral. The two months of heroic defensive efforts on the part of the besieged were matched by the equally heroic but more unobtrusive efforts of one of the besieging generals, Jung Lu. Foreseeing what calamities would arise if the legations were destroyed he worked diligently in secret for the preservation of those whom he

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[1] Latourette, pp. 512-15.
Chester C. Tan, The Boxer Catastrophe (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), pp. 33-75, passim.

was ordered to attack.[2] The imperial court departed for Sian just before the international force arrived, leaving the peace negotiations in the hands of Li Hung-chang, viceroy of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. During the negotiations, which lasted for nearly a year, units of the international army marched through Chihli and neighboring districts, meting out punishment in towns and villages where foreigners and Christians had suffered. It was then, in the months when the heavy hand of the punitive expeditions lay upon north China, that the Chinese learned that missionaries would as gladly help an innocent non-Christian to escape wartime violence as they would a Christian. The discovery was vital to the development of the mission compound's function as a refuge, for until this realization occurred, only a Christian Chinese would think of going to a mission when he was in danger.

The rather fearful respect in which Chinese had come to hold Westerners before 1900 played an important part in the events of that year. It meant that while devastation swept over the north China plain, the provinces of the Yangtze basin and the south remained relatively quiet. Feeling ran high in every part of China; but ten days after the siege of the legations began the Kiangan and Hukuang viceroys at Nanking and Hankow pledged to the foreign consuls in Shanghai that they would maintain the peace of the Yangtze valley, assuming the responsibility for any damage done to foreign property in that region. In return they

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[2]Tan, pp. 112-15.

were promised that foreign men-of-war would not land troops at Shanghai[3] as they had already done at Tientsin. Soon the viceroys of the southern provinces took up a similar position.[4] Moreover, in Shantung, cradle of the Boxers and still strongly anti-foreign in the regions bordering on Chihli, Yuan Shih-kai agreed with the central and southern viceroys' policy of protecting foreigners.[5] Therefore hostilities between Chinese and foreigners (both the resident foreign population and the troops landed to protect and avenge their compatriots) were confined almost entirely to the Yellow River valley. There were exceptions to the general pattern of riot-torn north and undisturbed south. Some of the authorities in the northern provinces sought with greater or less honesty to reassure the foreigners in their districts by affording them a token measure of protection.[6] However, Lintsing, Tsining, and Chefoo

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[3] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1900 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 249.
Tan, pp. 80-82.

[4] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1900, p. 250.
Tan, p. 82.

[5] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1900, p. 253.
Tan, p. 83.

[6] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1900, pp. 77-117, 123-25.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XVI, No. 33.
Ibid., Vol. XXV, No. 195.
Ibid., Vol. XXVI, No. 125.
Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: North China Mission, 1900, Nos. 12, 29.
Mrs. A. H. Smith, "The Story of the Siege," Life and Light, XXXI (March, 1901), 133-36.
Robert E. Speer, A Memorial of Horace Tracy Pitkin (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1903), pp. 259, 269, 273.

were the only cities in Shantung in which United States Protestant missions escaped complete demolition.[7] In addition, mobs and riots in some of the central and southern provinces endangered the lives and property of foreigners. The entire province of Chekiang, situated in the viceregal district of Foochow, was to some extent an exception to the statement that in China south of the Yellow River valley the foreigner remained relatively safe. Its governor had already notified its officials of an imperial anti-foreign edict, put out shortly after the siege of the legations began, before the viceroy of Fukien instructed him to disregard it. Early in July, though, he sent word to United States Consul-General John Goodnow at Shanghai that he too would protect all foreigners.[8] Nevertheless July was not a safe month for foreigners in Chekiang. On the thirteenth, only the efforts of the military official Siao saved the seven American Baptists of the Kinhwa station from a street mob which looted their buildings thoroughly.[9] Less than ten days later, three United States and five British members of the China Inland Mission

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[7] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XVI, No. 32.

Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: West Shantung Mission, 1900, No. 101.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: East Shantung, 1900, Annual Report of the Chefoo Station.

John J. Heeren, On the Shantung Front (New York: Board of Foreign Missions, 1940), p. 127.

[8] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1900, pp. 252-53.

[9] Annual Report of the American Baptist Missionary Union, 1900 (New York: American Baptist Missionary Union, 1900), pp. 152-53.

Cyril E. Bousfield, "In Perils from the Heathen," Baptist Missionary Magazine, LXXX (October, 1900), 568-70.

station at Chuchow were killed.[10] The province of Fukien itself was not free from outbreaks;[11] but there as in Kiangsu, Anhwei, Hupei, Kiangsi, Hunan, Szechwan, and Yunnan, outbreaks were few, their causes were largely local, and the damage done was relatively slight.[12] Only in Kwangtung was an appreciable amount of harm done to United

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[10] "'The Noble Army of Martyrs Praise Thee,'" China's Millions, September, 1900, p. 100.

"Letter from Mr. Ward's Evangelist," China's Millions, October, 1900, p. 108.

[11] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. X, No. 4.

Ibid., Vol. XII, Nos. 165, 166.

Ibid., Vol. XIV, Nos. 101-103.

"Fuhkien," Chinese Recorder, XXXI (September, 1900), 481.

P. W. Pitcher, "Troubles in Amoy," Mission Field, XIII (November, 1900), 235-39.

[12] Mrs. Anna M. Salquist, "West China Baptist Mission Records, 1889-1944," manuscript in files of American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, p. 1.

Methodist Church, Missionary Correspondence: Box 7, A. J. Bowen in Shanghai to New York, August 17, 1900. (Microfilmed.)

Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: Canton Mission, 1900, No. 73.

F. J. Bradshaw, "Just Before the Outbreak in China," Baptist Missionary Magazine, LXXX (November, 1900), 623-25.

G. A. Huntley, "The Looting of Hanyang Station," Baptist Missionary Magazine, LXXX (December, 1900), 660.

"Central China Mission," Gospel in All Lands, March, 1901, p. 133.

W. F. Junkin, "Back to Tsingkiangpu and Suchien," The Missionary, XXXIV (April, 1901), 175.

C. B. Titus, "Missionary Experiences in China," Missionary Intelligencer, XIII (July, 1900), 162.

"The Progress of the Kingdom," Spirit of Missions, LXV (October, 1900), 10.

F. R. Graves, "The Outlook in the Yangtze Valley," Spirit of Missions, LXVI (January, 1901), 74-76.

R. E. Wood, "The Return to Wuchang," Spirit of Missions, LXVI (January, 1900), 77-79.

Walter A. Sellew, Clara Leffingwell: A Missionary (Chicago: The Free Methodist Publishing House, 1913), pp. 137-45.

States Protestant mission property. There, the centers of the destruction which occurred in the summer and autumn of 1900 were the Swatow and Canton areas.[13] Thus the promise of the Yangtze viceroys to protect the foreigner was kept with regard to United States Protestant missions both by them and by the southern viceroys. Meanwhile the only reasonably safe places in north China for foreigners before the relief of the Peking legations were Tientsin, Chefoo, Weihaiwei, and Tsingtao, where foreign naval power and the efforts of Yuan Shih-kai checked the active expression of anti-foreign feeling.

The combined strength of the powers, then, was a factor in the safety accorded United States Protestant missions in most of China during the Boxer uprising. In the months following the summer of 1900,

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[13] American Board, ABC: 16.3.8: Vol. VI, Nos. 38, 125.

Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: Canton Mission, 1900, No. 84.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: Canton, 1900, Annual Report of the Canton Mission.

Ibid., 1901, Annual Report of the Canton Mission.

Annual Report of the American Baptist Missionary Union, 1901 (New York: American Baptist Missionary Union, 1901), pp. 157-58, 161-62.

Ibid., 1902 (New York: American Baptist Missionary Union, 1902), p. 144.

A. F. Groesbeck, "The Wrecking of Ungkung," Baptist Missionary Magazine, LXXX (November, 1900), 626.

Idem, "Losses and Outlook," Baptist Missionary Magazine, LXXX (December, 1900), 657-58.

H. A. Kemp, "In Kwangtung Province," Baptist Missionary Magazine, LXXX (December, 1900), 666-67.

J. Speicher, "Cloud and Sunshine in China," Baptist Missionary Magazine, LXXX (December, 1900), 653-56.

Idem, "A Chinese Mob," Around the World, I (February, 1901), 2.

"Letters from R. H. Graves," Foreign Mission Journal, LI (February, 1901), 256.

the United States joined with other interested nations in negotiating a settlement[14] which included the punishment of guilty officials[15] and the payment of an indemnity to each of the powers involved.[16] The final protocol, signed on September 7th, 1901,[17] provided in its twelve articles and nineteen annexes for the carrying out of these and a number of other undertakings. In several provinces the presentation and payment of individual or mission claims figured as part of the re-establishment of United States Protestant missionaries in their centers of work, many of which had suffered damages after they had departed at consular insistence for the coast during the summer of 1900. Several claims in Chihli and Shantung were locally settled,[18] but in Shansi the indemnity for all losses in life and property remained in the hands of the governments

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[14] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1900, pp. 197-248, 299-381.
Ibid., 1901, Appendix (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), passim.
Tan, pp. 129-56.

[15] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1900, pp. 296-98.
Tan, pp. 137-43, 216-23.

[16] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1901, Appendix, pp. 70-284, passim.
Tan, pp. 223-34.

[17] Customs Treaties, I, 303-41.

[18] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXVII, No. 282.
Methodist Church, Missionary Correspondence: Box 9, G. W. Verity in Tientsin to New York, July 2, 1901. (Microfilmed.)
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: West Shantung, 1901, Weihsien Station Report.
Ibid., Peking, 1901, Personal Report of J. W. Lowrie.
H. H. Lowry, "Conditions on Pekin District," World Wide Missions, XIII (September, 1901), 6-7.

whose nationals were affected. Its amount had, however, been fixed by agreements between the governor and representatives of the missions involved.[19] Missionaries in central and southern China, where damages had been far less than in the north, also found the local officials willing to reimburse their missions' losses.[20]

Not only did the prestige of power help the missionaries themselves, however. They used it for the benefit of their converts and adherents as well. Throughout the months from October, 1899, to July, 1900, they strove to find protection for the Christians of Shantung,[21]

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[19] Shen Tun-ho, Recollections of a Chinese Official (Shanghai: North-China Herald, 1903), pp. 22-23.

[20] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1901 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 99.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. X, No. 21.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.8: Vol. VI, No. 38.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: Canton, 1901, Annual Report of the Canton Mission.
Annual Report of the American Baptist Missionary Union, 1901 (New York: American Baptist Missionary Union, 1901), p. 158.
Ibid., 1902 (New York: American Baptist Missionary Union, 1902), p. 144.
"Letters from R. H. Graves," Foreign Mission Journal, LI (January, 1901), 255-56.
"Rebuilding Chapels in China," Foreign Mission Journal, LI (October, 1900), 115.
"Central China Mission," Gospel in All Lands, March, 1901, p. 133.
"Slandering China Missions," World Wide Missions, XIII (April, 1901), 4.
D. W. Nichols, "Resumption of Work in Nanchang, China," World Wide Missions, XIII (April, 1901), 6.

[21] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1900, pp. 78, 80-84, 94-95.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XX, Nos. 197, 198, 202, 204.

Chihli,[22] and Shansi.[23] Moreover, all during the summer missionaries in the central and southern provinces continued to act for the safety of their people.[24] After the destruction was over, they sought to win redress for the Christian Chinese, who in north China at least had usually lost their meager all, and to reinstate them in their communities both from an economic and from a social standpoint. As soon as the first violence of 1899 had passed, missionaries in Shantung began to approach its officials with requests for reimbursement for their plundered flocks.[25] The commission on indemnities which met in Peking during 1901 provided

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Ibid., Vol. XXI, Nos. 200, 202.

"Letters from J. B. Hartwell," Foreign Mission Journal, LI (October, 1900), 130-31.

[22] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1900, p. 115.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XX, No. 34.

Ibid., Vol. XXV, No. 63.

Ibid., Vol. XXVI, No. 125.

Ibid., Vol. XXIX, No. 229.

Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: North China Mission, 1900, No. 29.

[23] American Board, ABC: 16.3.15: Vol. VI, No. 148.

[24] Methodist Church, Missionary Correspondence: Box 10, H. V. Lacy in Foochow to New York, July 12, 1900. (Microfilmed.)

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: Central China, 1900, Personal Report of H. G. C. Hallock.

Annual Report of the American Baptist Missionary Union, 1901, p. 156.

J. Speicher, "Cloud and Sunshine in China," Baptist Missionary Magazine, LXXX (December, 1900), 655.

P. W. Pitcher, "Troubles in Amoy," Mission Field, XIII (November, 1900), 235-36.

[25] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXV, No. 196.

Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: West Shantung Mission, 1900, Nos. 1, 3, 17.

for compensation only for losses sustained by Chinese who were in the actual employ of foreigners;[26] but the Protestant missionaries of Peking took exception to this in a joint letter sent to the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of protesting the omission of several matters important to them from the peace proposals.[27] Secretary of State John Hay urged Minister Conger in a telegram of October 30th, 1900, to make every effort to secure compensation for Chinese Christians from the imperial government.[28] Therefore, whether they knew of it or not, the exertions of missionaries on behalf of their people had his approval in principle. Most of the losses of Christians under the care of United States Protestants had naturally occurred in the northern provinces where the full violence of the storm had been felt. Officials and village elders in Shantung and Chihli, spurred by their fear of the international expeditions which were then marching through the countryside for the purpose of destroying former Boxer meeting-places and punishing leaders of the movement, readily paid the claims for his congregations' losses which a missionary presented, and promised the return of any land confiscated from Christians.[29]

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[26] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1901, Appendix, pp. 106-07.

[27] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXIII, No. 147.

[28] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1901, Appendix, p. 346.

[29] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXIII, No. 149.
Ibid., Vol. XXIV, Nos. 69, 74, 100.
Ibid., Vol. XXV, Nos. 64-66, 68.

Missionaries in the central and southern provinces found officials equally willing to settle the grievances of the few Christians persecuted in small local outbreaks there.[30]

Ibid., Vol. XXIX, No. 115.

Ibid., Vol. XXX, Nos. 14, 18, 19.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.15: Vol. V, No. 47.

Methodist Church, Missionary Correspondence: Box 9, G. W. Verity in Tientsin to New York, July 2, 1901. (Microfilmed.)

Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: North China Mission, 1900, No. 36.

Ibid., West Shantung Mission, 1900, Nos. 85, 101.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: East Shantung, 1900, Personal and Station Report of the Tsingtau Station.

Ibid., Peking, 1901, Report of the Peking Station.

Ibid., West Shantung, 1901, Chinanfu Mission Station Report.

"Extracts from Letters," Foreign Mission Journal, LI (November, 1900), 152-53.

"Letter from J. W. Lowe," Foreign Mission Journal, LI (March, 1901), 288-89.

Ibid., LI (May, 1901), 352.

"A Letter by Yuan Shih Kai," Foreign Mission Journal, LI (April, 1901), 320-31.

"The North China Conference," Gospel in All Lands, February, 1902, pp. 61-62, 66-67.

"Governor Yuan's Letter," The Missionary, XXXIV (April, 1901), 178-79.

"Slandering China Missionaries," World Wide Missions, XIII (April, 1901), 4.

D. W. Nichols, "Resumption of Work in Nanchang, China," World Wide Missions, XIII (April, 1901), 6.

H. H. Lowry, "Conditions on Pekin District," World Wide Missions, XIII (September, 1901), 6-7.

G. W. Verity, "Doings of Boxers in North China," World Wide Missions, XIV (December, 1901), 4.

A. J. Brown, Report of a Visitation of the China Missions of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (New York: Presbyterian Board, 1901), pp. 3-7, 30-34.

Porter, W. S. Ament, p. 219.

Shen, Recollections of a Chinese Official, p. 23.

[30] American Board, ABC: 16.3.8: Vol. VI, No. 38.

Methodist Church, Missionary Correspondence: Box 8, D. W. Nichols in Nanchang to New York, May 29, 1901. (Microfilmed.)

The United States Protestant missionary played an active role in the re-establishment of his scattered and decimated flock. He had given them what shelter he could during the months preceding August, 1900.[31] Now, as he worked on their behalf, he found that his fellow-Westerners in the expeditionary forces were not always careful to ascertain whether a village had made reparation for anti-Christian or anti-foreign acts before they proceeded to exact fines and destroy public buildings. Indeed, through not troubling to inquire carefully about Boxer activities they did harm at times to entirely unoffending communities.

Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: Central China Mission, 1900, No. 62.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: Canton, 1901, Annual Report of the Canton Mission.

Ibid., Central China, 1901, Report of H. G. C. Hallock.

D. W. Nichols, "Resumption of Work in Nanchang, China," World Wide Missions, XIII (April, 1901), 6.

Jacob Speicher, The Conquest of the Cross in China (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1907), pp. 134-35.

[31] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXIV, Nos. 32, 69.

Ibid., Vol. XXVII, No. 260.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.13: Vol. VII, No. 163.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: East Shantung, 1900, Annual Report of the Chefoo Station.

"Letters from J. B. Hartwell," Foreign Mission Journal, LI (October, 1900), 131.

Mrs. A. H. Smith, "The Story of the Siege," Life and Light, XXXI (March, 1901), 134.

F. Brown, "How Brown, Pyke, and Others Escaped from Peking," World Wide Missions, XII (September, 1900), 8.

J. H. Pyke, "Thrilling Description of the Bombardment of Tientsin and Rescue of Missionaries," World Wide Missions, XII (September, 1900), 7-8.

Idem, "The Situation at Tientsin," World Wide Missions, XIII (October, 1900), 9.

Ada Haven Mateer, Siege Days (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1903), pp. 79, 83, 92, 105.

Under these circumstances, United States Protestant missionaries quickly took it upon themselves to protect non-Christians as well as Christians from the over-zealous avengers. The punitive expeditions of various contingents of the allied troops into the countryside continued to terrorize the Chinese of Chihli and Shantung throughout the early months of 1901. Shansi was more fortunate in that respect. In addition to its geographical inaccessibility, it was ruled by Shen Tun-ho, who succeeded in establishing good relations with the missionaries whose fellow-workers had been killed by inviting them to his capital to confer on indemnities for the losses of both Chinese and foreign Christians throughout the province.[32] Within the regions visited by foreign troops, however, United States Protestants gave to Christians written or printed passes in as many as seven languages.[33] To villages which had recompensed Christian losses they gave multilingual proclamations of protection. At times they were present in person to save from international punitive forces those communities which had given restitution.[34]

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[32] Shen, Recollections of a Chinese Official, pp. 18-25.

[33] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXIV, No. 69.
Ibid., Vol. XXX, Nos. 15, 131.

[34] Ibid., Vol. XXX, No. 17.
Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: North China Mission, 1900, No. 36.
Ibid., West Shantung Mission, 1900, No. 101.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: East Shantung, 1900, Personal and Station Report of the Tsingtau Station.
Ibid., Peking, 1901, Personal Report of J. W. Lowrie.
Porter, W. S. Ament, pp. 212-13, 216-17, 248-50.

At other times they rescued non-Christian Chinese men and women from mistreatment by foreign troops.[35] Furthermore, in the provinces untouched by the international expeditions, they wrote to United States consuls on behalf of officials degraded despite their helpfulness to missionaries.[36]

Thus during late 1900 and early 1901 the Chinese learned that missionaries were not only able, but (which was fully as important) willing to protect Chinese from foreigners as well as from other Chinese. Moreover, they discovered that missionaries would shelter Christians and non-Christians alike from the suffering which the punitive expeditionary forces too often inflicted indiscriminately upon innocent and guilty. Both of those lessons were to be remembered throughout China in succeeding years, and in particular during the period of the warlords and that of the duel with Japan. Together with the object lesson in the perils of destroying foreign life and property afforded by the actions of the international punitive expeditions, they were the contributions of the Boxer era to the development of the mission compound's function as an asylum in time of strife.

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[35]American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXX, Nos. 9, 131, 136.

Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: North China Mission, 1900, No. 37.

Porter, W. S. Ament, pp. 240-41.

[36]Foreign Relations of the United States, 1901, Appendix, p. 42.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.15: Vol. V, Nos. 168, 182.

T. D. Holmes, "Major Siao," Baptist Missionary Magazine, LXXXI (October, 1901), 644.

"Letter from E. B. Ward," Woman's Evangel, XX (February, 1901), 26.

CHAPTER III

THE CONFLICT OF CONSCIENCE

During the ten years between the signing of the Boxer protocol in 1901 and the outbreak in 1911 of the revolution which was to end three centuries of Manchu rule in Peking, the officials of the dying regime feared to offend Westerners even more than they had in the years between the Sino-Japanese war and the Boxer uprising. The international punitive expedition of 1900 and 1901 which penetrated into the villages and cities of Chihli and Shantung had burned into the mind of every Chinese who knew of it the realization that similar incursions were possible in every part of China. At the same time it brought to the forefront of the missionaries' consciousness the relationship between the presence of foreign gunboats in Chinese ports and the care with which foreign and Chinese Christians were handled by local officials. The United States Protestant, a citizen of the largest Western nation which did not in 1900 possess a state-supported church, found the situation particularly uncomfortable. Moreover, he had no more desire than his government to see groups of Chinese removed from the jurisdiction of the imperial administration; yet the toleration clauses had placed the power of the West between the Manchus and their Christian subjects almost as effectively as the scramble for concessions had removed ceded

areas from China's territorial jurisdiction. In the years following 1901 the United States Protestant missionary therefore strove to put an end to his adherents' special position by ceasing to invoke the toleration clauses on their behalf, though his consul and minister continued to take measures to ensure his own safety.

In mid-1905 the "inquisitorial harshness"[1] with which the United States enforced its restrictions on the immigration of Chinese nationals produced in China a virulent anti-American propaganda movement which led at times to violence. The aim of the agitators was to promote a boycott of American goods in the hope of influencing United States immigration regulations. It did bring about some softening in their application by United States immigration officials. After a few months it died down, disappearing more slowly in the southern provinces from which most of the United States' Chinese immigrants came than in central and north China. However, the importance attached by Chinese officialdom to the avoidance of any trouble with foreigners is apparent throughout the period 1901 to 1911 in a number of instances when the safety or property of missionaries was jeopardized by potential riots, whether or not boycott agitation had influenced the attack.[2] The position

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[1] C. F. Remer, A Study of Chinese Boycotts (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933), pp. 34-35.

[2] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XI, No. 198.
Ibid., Vol. XIII, No. 9.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.13: Vol. VIII, No. 46.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: Canton, 1901/ Annual Report of the Canton Mission.

of United States Protestant missionaries was enhanced by the fact that the United States government's representatives in China continued to take a strong interest in their safety during the first decade of the twentieth century.[3] The most drastic attack on United States Protestants

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Ibid., Canton, 1902, Annual Report of the Canton Mission.

Ibid., Central China, 1910, Ningpo Station Report.

Annual Report of the American Baptist Missionary Union, 1906 (New York: American Baptist Missionary Union, 1906), pp. 284, 300.

Little Glimpses of the Kiangan Mission, 1911 (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1912), p. 1.

A. Woodruff Halsey, "The Missionary Horizon: China," All the World, VII (January, 1911), 9.

John C. Hawk, "Changchow," China Christian Advocate, III (March, 1916), 6.

T. D. Holmes, "The Rebellion Scare at Kinhwa," Chinese Recorder, XXXVIII (August, 1907), 463-65.

P. F. P[rice], "Riots in Northern Chekiang," Chinese Recorder, XXXIX (February, 1908), 111-12.

J. S. Kunkle, "The Lienchow Riots," Chinese Recorder, XLII (April, 1911), 243-44.

"A Narrow Escape," Foreign Mission Journal, LVIII (September, 1906), 114-15.

"Letter from Miss Anna Cole," Helping Hand, XXXI (May, 1904), 15.

P. F. Price, "Burning of the Dongshang Missionary Building," The Missionary, XLI (March, 1908), 115-16.

Mrs. J. W. Bradley, "The Riots in Suchien," The Missionary, XLIII (October, 1910), 499.

M. J. Irvine, "A Glimpse by the Wayside," Missionary Link, XXXIX (August, 1908), p. 5.

S. H. Littell, "Some Incidents in a Country Visit," Spirit of Missions, LXXII (September, 1907), 742-43.

Report of the American Presbyterian Mission Station, Linchow Station, South China Mission, from Its Beginning to the Present Time (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1936), pp. 33-34.

F. J. Devins, On the Way to Hwai Yuen (New York: Board of Foreign Missions, 1905), p. 78.

Rosa W. Palmborg, China Letters (Plainfield, N. J.: The Recorder Press, 1943), pp. 71-72.

[3] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1902 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), pp. 161-81.

Ibid., 1903 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904),

of that period was the killing of five American Presbyterians at Lienchow, Kwangtung, on October 28th, 1905.[4] Consul-General Julius G. Lay of Canton, together with two naval officers, made up the American commission of inquiry whose visit to Lienchow encouraged the execution of three of the ringleaders, the imprisonment of others, and the payment of indemnities for the lives and property destroyed.[5] During February of 1906, outbreaks primarily affecting Roman Catholic and British Protestant missions led United States Minister W. W. Rockhill to make three separate requests for the "instant and efficient protection" of the missionaries of his country in the affected areas.[6] Four years later, rioting in Changsha, Hunan, touched more United States

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pp. 79-80.

Ibid., 1904 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), p. 201.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: Hainan, 1903, Report of C. H. Newton.

W. F. Beaman, "A Survey," Baptist Missionary Magazine, LXXXII (December, 1902), 728.

"From Our Mail Bag," Baptist Missionary Magazine, LXXXIII (January, 1903), 33-34.

Spencer Lewis, "Boxerism in West China," World Wide Missions, XIV (December, 1902), 9.

Idem, "What the Uprising Has Cost," World Wide Missions, XV (January, 1903), 4.

"Looting of Dr. Beatty's House at Canton, China," The Presbyterian Banner, March 22, 1906, pp. 13-14.

[4]"The Lien-chow Massacre," Chinese Recorder, XXXVI (December, 1905), 650-51.

[5]Foreign Relations of the United States, 1906, I, 308-11, 314-24.

Ibid., 1907, I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), 212-18.

Report of American Presbyterian Linchow Station from Beginning to Present, pp. 29-30.

[6]Foreign Relations of the United States, 1906, I, 224-29, 337.

Protestant mission societies than any event since the summer of 1900.[7] Both government and foreign property suffered heavy losses from incendiaries and looters in the riot.[8] After nine months of diplomatic negotiation the claims of the two United States Protestant groups which submitted them to their consulate at Changsha were paid.[9]

During the decade studied in this chapter United States Protestant missionaries did appeal to their consul for enforcement of the treaty provision for non-persecution of Christians, in addition to accepting his aid in cases of extreme danger to themselves. A much larger number

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[7] See accounts in:

Christian and Missionary Alliance, Central China Mission, Report for the Year 1910 (n. p.), pp. 5-7.

"Latest News from Changsha," Missionary Tidings, XIX (June, 1910), 122.

"Dr. Dubs' Letter," Missionary Tidings, XIX (June, 1910), 126-27.

"The Rice Riots in Changsha," Spirit of Missions, LXXV (June, 1910), 450-51.

Edward H. Hume, Doctors East, Doctors West (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1946), pp. 133-39.

[8] One American missionary ascribed the attack on foreign property to a protest of Hunanese workmen against the importation of carpenters and masons from other provinces for the construction of the British consulate. The wife of another reported that the rioters sought to endanger the governor's life by killing two or three foreigners so that their governments would demand his execution. If that was true, it was a forerunner of a similar technique used many times in later years by Chinese Communists in attempts to embarrass the recognized government of China. However, the governor survived.

Letter from Alfred A. Gilman to author, March 23, 1956.

Mrs. F. A. Keller, "The Riots in Changsha," Woman's Work in the Far East, XXXI (June, 1910), p. 82.

[9] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1910 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), pp. 342-52.

Ibid., 1911 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), pp. 79-81.

used the toleration clauses before 1905[10] than after,[11] but at all times they met with a uniformly high degree of success. They could even rescue their converts from sentences of death passed on them for the revolutionary activities of which a fellow-Christian of Sun Yat-sen was likely to be accused because of his church connection.[12] More numerous than the cases demanding consular attention, though, were those which the missionary brought to a conclusion without resorting to his consul.

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[10] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1902, pp. 202-04.
Ibid., 1904, pp. 201-02.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. X, No. 97.
Ibid., Vol. XIV, Nos. 118, 131, 133.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXIII, No. 285.
Ibid., Vol. XXIV, No. 9.
Ibid., Vol. XXV, Nos. 30, 258, 260.
Ibid., Vol. XXIX, Nos. 37, 371.
A. L. Warnshuis, "Classis and Synod in China," Mission Field, XV (June, 1902), 67.
Harry R. Caldwell, "Trouble at Ngu-cheng," Fuhkien Witness, II (February, 1904), 7-8.
"Rice Christians," Bulletin of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Fuhkien, No. 48 (January-March, 1907), pp. 2-3.
A. G. Adams, "J. S. Adams," pp. 331-32.

[11] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1906, I, 314-18.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXIV, No. 52.
Ibid., Vol. XXVI, No. 84.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: Hainan, 1910, Kiungchow Station Report.
T. D. Holmes, "Trouble with Catholic Adherents," Baptist Missionary Magazine, LXXXVII (April, 1907), 147.

[12] Eliza L. Roots, "Liu Ching-An: A Prisoner," Spirit of Missions, LXXIV (August, 1909), 696-67.
James Burke, My Father in China (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1942), pp. 222-24.

United States Protestants were usually able to obtain redress for the attacks made on the persons and property of their adherents.[13] Not

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[13] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. X, Nos. 60, 97.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.8: Vol. VI, No. 98.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXIII, Nos. 271, 272, 289.
Ibid., Vol. XXIV, No. 74.
Ibid., Vol. XXV, Nos. 252, 260, 263.
Ibid., Vol. XXVI, Nos. 115, 172, 173.
Ibid., Vol. XXIX, Nos. 136, 350, 368.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.15: Vol. V, No. 158.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: North China, 1910, North China Mission Minutes, Appendix A, Peking Station Report.
Ibid., North China, 1910, Annual Report of W. W. Hicks.
Annual Report of the American Baptist Missionary Union, 1903 (New York: American Baptist Missionary Union, 1903), pp. 198-99.
Annual Report of the American Presbyterian Mission, Hainan, 1906 (n. p.), p. 27.
The Hunan Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: Station Reports, 1906-07 (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1907), p. 11.
Annual Report of the East China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1905 (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1906), p. 44.
Report for 1903 of the Sinchang Field of the Mid-China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (n. p.), p. 3.
E. H. Morton, "Lights and Shadows in Tsingkiangpu," Bi-Monthly Bulletin, III (July-August, 1909), p. 273.
A. H. Sherman, "Work in the Native City," Bulletin of Hankow District, I (April, 1903), 4.
L. H. Roots, "Hsinti," Bulletin of Hankow District, I (April, 1903), 9-10.
R. E. Wood, "Hanchuan," Bulletin of Hankow District, I (November 1903), 5.
Spencer Lewis, "Visit to the West China Stations of the Methodist Episcopal Mission," Gospel in All Lands, December, 1901, p. 54.
J. S. Adams, "Trials of Native Disciples," Baptist Missionary Magazine, LXXXVII (August, 1906), 334-35.
"News from Kashing," The Missionary, XXXIX (December, 1906), 542.
Mrs. W. H. Venable, "Field Notes from Kashing," The Missionary, XL (March, 1907), 126-27.
"Kept in the Midst of Danger," Foreign Mission Journal, LX (February, 1910), 243.
A. G. Adams, "J. S. Adams," pp. 302-03.

until the period of the boycott propaganda did they begin to report occasional failures.[14] The types of appeals they made may be gathered from the diary kept by Spencer Lewis during 1902 and 1903. Lewis had been in Chungking since before the Szechwan riots of 1895. In March of 1902 he called on one official to protest against Boxer propaganda then reappearing in Szechwan, in April he saw two more for the same purpose and asked another to release an accused adherent, and in May he wrote to a fifth official concerning a false arrest. He set out in August of 1902 to help a community of Methodists attacked by men claiming the name of Roman Catholic; and in December of 1903 he assisted one of his members in obtaining justice from the magistrates.[15] Occasionally, missionaries also appealed for non-Christians who bore some relationship to their work.[16]

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[14] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXV, No. 31.
Ibid., Vol. XXVI, No. 83.
Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, No. 278.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: West Shantung, 1910, Personal Report of F. H. Chalfant.
The Annual Report of the Canton Mission of the American Presbyterian Church, 1904 (n. p.), p. 25.
Annual Report of the American Baptist Missionary Union, 1906 (New York: American Baptist Missionary Union, 1906), p. 265.

[15] Mission Library of the Methodist Church, Biographical Files: Spencer Lewis diary, 1902, pp. 39-130, passim.
Ibid., Spencer Lewis diary, 1903, p. 195.

[16] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXIII, No. 248.
Ibid., Vol. XXIX, No. 136.
Methodist Church, Missionary Correspondence: Box 6, A. P. Quirmbach in Foochow to New York, May 28, 1906. (Microfilmed.)
A. A. Gilman, "The Aftermath of the Riot," Spirit of Missions, LXXVI (July, 1911), 556.

Many and varied were the situations which induced United States Protestant missionaries to use their nationality or their treaty-established position to help their Chinese friends. However, as the years went by and they realized the influence they had inadvertently acquired over the workings of the Chinese administration, they refused to take up more and more of the cases brought to their notice. This was by no means a new development, although it is one to which but little attention has been paid by non-missionary writers. It was noted in Chapter One that a United States Protestant who learned that his or his mission's name was being used by mischief-makers would report the fact to the appropriate official.[17] Furthermore, during the half-decade preceding the Boxer uprising, individual missionaries from Swatow to Peking were refusing to have anything to do with cases in which the plaintiff's claim of persecution seemed unfounded,[18] the mission of the Reformed Church of America at Amoy made it a policy to go to the consul only as a last resort, and the Southern Presbyterian station at Suchien, Kiangsu,

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[17] See Chapter One, note 85.

[18] American Board, ABC: 16.3.8: Vol. IV, No. 320.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XVII, No. 50.
Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: West Shantung Mission, 1898, No. 12.
Annual Report of the American Baptist Missionary Union, 1900, pp. 146, 152.
"Letter from Mrs. J. W. Carlin, Ungkung," The Helping Hand, XXV (August, 1896), 13.
"Letter from H. A. Kemp," Baptist Missionary Magazine, LXXVII (April, 1897), 143.
Jefferys, J. A. Ingle, p. 163.

refused to interfere in any Chinese cases whatsoever, even when one of their inquirers was shot.[19] By the end of the nineteenth century, the question of missionary interference in Chinese lawsuits had become a matter of such vital concern to Protestants in general that one of their number, Paul D. Bergen of the American Presbyterian mission at Tsingtao, conducted a survey of the practice of Protestant missionaries in this regard. Its results were embodied in articles in the June and July, 1899, issues of the Chinese Recorder. The consensus of opinion was that the answer to the question posed in the articles' title, "Should We Endeavor to Keep All Church Troubles out of the Yamen?" was a resounding "Yes!" Intervention had more often been productive of harm than of good, the overwhelming majority of those who filled out Bergen's questionnaire replied. Many of them had already established a policy of avoiding it in all but the most flagrant of attacks upon their members.[20]

In the months immediately following the Boxer uprising, the problem faced by United States Protestants who wished to avoid seeming to establish a foreign protectorate over their Chinese adherents was heightened by the incursions of the international punitive forces into

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[19] P. W. Pitcher, "Some Notes from Amoy," Mission Field, XI (February, 1899), 321.

[20] Paul D. Bergen, "Should We Endeavor to Keep All Church Troubles out of the Yamen?," Chinese Recorder, XXX (June-July, 1899), 261-68, 328-35.

Shantung and Chihli. The mere existence of these troops transformed the plundered survivors of the Christian community in north China into men of power, since they were connected with the missionaries whose companions' sufferings the international army sought to avenge. The Christians' new status was particularly evidenced by the ease with which they could obtain almost any reimbursement they might ask for their losses. It was on the question of indemnities for Chinese Christians' losses, therefore, that United States Protestants concentrated their efforts in 1900 and 1901. In April of 1901 the North China Mission of the American Board passed nine resolutions with respect to the collection and care of indemnities. These resolutions indicate by the prohibitions they contain some of the practices of which the missionaries disapproved. They prohibited the accepting of money for not preferring charges against Boxers, the collecting of the one-third additional punitive indemnity requested with the consent of the missionaries up till then, the presenting of claims for the dead excepting pensions for widows and orphans, and the formulation, presentation, or collection of claims by Chinese alone without the foreign missionary's presence.[21] Many were the missionaries who dropped a claim because they found either before or after its presentation to the officials that it was too high.[22] Others took steps

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[21] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXIII, No. 4.

[22] For example:
Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: West Shantung Mission, 1899, No. 70.
Ibid., West Shantung Mission, 1900, No. 3.

to halt the payment of claims to anyone but themselves, having discovered that Chinese both within and without the church were fleecing ex-Boxers unmercifully in its name.[23] As far south as Chekiang, H. G. C. Hallock of the American Presbyterian mission at Hangchow had one inquirer imprisoned because he sought to obtain double reimbursement by applying for restitution through both Hallock and the Church Missionary Society.[24]

Despite the efforts of United States Protestants to disentangle truth from falsehood in the stories of persecution brought to them, they came during the decade following the Boxer era to agree with J. A. Fitch of Weihsien, Shantung, who remarked after the German seizure of Kiaochow Bay,

> The most marked effect we see is the prestige it gives to foreigners, a prestige that is pitiful to see. The officials seem for the time being to stand in abject fear of any complication with foreigners.[25]

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: West Shantung, 1900, Annual Report of Weihsien Station.

[23] For example:
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: West Shantung, 1901, Annual Report of Weihsien Station.
Ibid., Peking, 1901, Personal Report of J. W. Lowrie.
H. H. Lowry, "Conditions on Pekin District," World Wide Missions, XIII (September, 1901), 6-7.
Idem, "The North China Conference," Gospel in All Lands, February, 1902, pp. 61-62.

[24] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: Central China, 1901, Report of H. G. C. Hallock.

[25] Presbyterian U. S. A., China Letters: West Shantung Mission, 1898, No. 12.

Moreover, they realized that the fear aroused by the international punitive expeditions of 1900-01 had made Fitch's statement applicable to every part of China. At one station near Canton, the missionary in charge found that

> so firmly convinced have the people become that the missions are a political agency, that men come into our chapels and without ado spread out their papers for our scrutiny, and are not a little surprised when we refuse to look at the briefs, or even talk of the case.[26]

These were the circumstances which led United States Protestants, both as individuals and as missions, to cut off their connection with lawsuits to such an extent that by 1911 hardly one of their number still wrote to or visited Chinese magistrates or consular officials on behalf of his adherents, except to attest to a man's probity. Spencer Lewis, whose interventions during 1902 and 1903 on behalf of some of his people have been listed above, was during those two years refusing nearly as many requests for aid as he granted. In one town he would not even accept some men as probationers because of the number of their lawsuits.[27] Other missionaries would not list or accept contributions from inquirers lest those named feel entitled to the church's aid in lawsuits.[28] Many

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[26]H. K. Shumaker, "Notes from China," Woman's Evangel, XXII (December, 1903), 201.

[27]Methodist Library, Biographical Files: Spencer Lewis diary, 1902, pp. 60-128, passim.

[28]Methodist Library, Biographical Files: Edward James, "Forty-Three Years in China (unpublished manuscript), pp. 42-50. Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: Central China, 1904,

made it a policy to refuse all cases, or at least all in which physical violence was not involved.[29] The mere expression of interest in

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Personal Report of W. J. Drummond.

Ibid., North China, 1908, North China Mission Minutes, Appendix C, Shuntefu Station Report.

Central China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: Station Reports, 1901-02 (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1902), p. 61.

J. A. Ingle, "Changsha," Bulletin of Hankow District, I (April, 1903), 2.

[29] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XIV, No. 5.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.8: Vol. VI, Nos. 183, 185.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXV, No. 250.

Ibid., Vol. XXX, No. 151.

Ibid., Vol. XLIV, No. 462.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.15: Vol. VII, No. 14.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: East Shantung, 1906, Annual Report of the Tsingtao Station.

Ibid., West Shantung, 1903, Personal Report of F. H. Chalfant.

Ibid., West Shantung, 1908, Seventh Annual Report of H. G. Romig.

Ibid., Hainan, 1909, Kachek Station Report.

Ibid., 14-2 and 14-8, 1911, Report of Kiungchow Station.

Annual Report of the American Baptist Missionary Union, 1903 (New York: American Baptist Missionary Union, 1903), p. 198.

The Canton Mission of the American Presbyterian Church, 1905 (n. p.), pp. 79-80.

"Editorial Comment," Chinese Recorder, XXXIII (November, 1902), 579-80.

J. E. Walker, "Report of Shaowu Station," Foochow Messenger, III (April, 1906), 17-18.

Idem, "Report," Foochow Messenger, IV (April-July, 1907), 55.

H. M., "Persecution at Jih-ae," Intercessory Missionary, I (January, 1907), 23-24.

C. E. P[atton], "A Twentieth-Century Prison Prayer," Yeung Kong Station Bi-Monthly, No. 44 (September, 1910), pp. 3-4.

W. F. Junkin, "Discouragements and Difficulties," The Missionary, XXXVIII (February, 1905), 77-78.

Miss Jeanie Junkin, "A Report from Suchien," The Missionary, XXXIX (January, 1905), 26.

S. H. Littell, "Holding Fast under Difficulties," Spirit of Missions, LXX (December, 1905), 945.

"Letter from H. K. Shumaker," Woman's Evangel, XXII (May,

Christianity might be suspected of concealing ulterior motives.[30] Not only did United States Protestants act as individuals to avert the "evil of lawsuiting," as it was called. Mission groups passed resolutions, issued statements, and formulated rules designed to disclaim any wish to see Christians seek or be given special privileges.[31] In Szechwan, for example, after an abortive Boxer uprising brought about a change in governors in 1902, Spencer Lewis, H. Olin Cady, and Q. A. Myers

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1903), 73.

"Extracts from Reports," Woman's Evangel, XXVII (January, 1906), 16.

Report of American Presbyterian Linchow Station from Beginning to Present, p. 25.

[30]Methodist Library, Biographical Files: E. James, "Forty-Three Years in China," pp. 42-43.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: North China, 1908, North China Mission Minutes, Appendix C, Shuntefu Station Report.

Central China American Presbyterian Station Reports, 1901-02, p. 39.

Annual Report of the Canton Mission of the American Presbyterian Church, 1903 (n. p.), p. 52.

W. R. Hunt, "Good News from Chu Cheo," Missionary Intelligencer, XV (February, 1902), 53-56.

Frank Rawlinson, "Mission Shoals," Foreign Mission Journal, LV (July, 1904), 29-30.

[31]For example:

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: Canton, 1901, Report of the Canton Mission.

Standing Rules of the East Shantung Mission of the American Presbyterian Church (n. p., n. d.), p. 5.

Annual Report of the West Shantung Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1905 (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1906), p. 44.

C. S. Bousfield, "'Missionary Troubles,'" Chinese Recorder, XXXIII (February, 1902), 69.

"Chinese Christians and the Law Courts," Chinese Recorder, XXXIII (September, 1902), 484-86.

"Editorial Comment," Chinese Recorder, XXXIII (June,

wrote a letter of welcome and congratulation to the new incumbent on behalf of the Methodist Episcopal mission. After expressing their gratitude for the restoration of peace, they went on to say,

> In America perfect religious liberty is granted and the church does not interfere in matters of state. We desire that in all matters that concern Christians that may come before the officials that they give careful attention to the case and decide according to the right, paying no regard to the claims of church or non-church connection.[32]

The restrictions with regard to the use of Christian connections in the courts which were imposed by United States Protestant missionaries on themselves and their people were supported when necessary by disciplinary action. At times United States Protestants had to suspend a Chinese pastor or request magisterial action against a Chinese miscreant in order to make clear their determination to stay out of legal affairs.[33] There were even a few instances in which a missionary

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1903), 312.

"Conference at Kashing," The Missionary, XXXVI (August, 1903), 358-59.

[32]"Letter to the Viceroy," West China Messenger of the Methodist Episcopal Church, II (January-February, 1903), 7-8. Italics theirs.

[33]American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXIII, No. 247.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.15: Vol. V, No. 57.
Methodist Library, Biographical Files: Spencer Lewis diary, 1905, pp. 73-170, passim.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: Central China, 1902, Personal Report of Robert Ferris Fitch.
Ibid., West Shantung, 1903, Personal Report of F. H. Chalfant.
Ibid., Hunan, 1904, Report of Hengchow Station.
Ibid., Peking, 1905, Minutes of the Peking Mission,

was regarded by his fellow-workers as being too credulous when it came to listening sympathetically to tales of persecution. Only one is recorded as having actually been arrested by the provincial authorities on charges of abetting criminals, but another's activities were confined at consular request to educational work rather than the supervision of country districts, and a third was looked upon by the representatives of the United States government in Canton "to a man . . . as a disturbing element in South China."[34] The successor of one Methodist Episcopal superintendent in southern Kiangsi characterized the church as he found it in 1903 as

> a commercial and political organization for the purpose of resisting the officials, avoiding taxation, and setting the Methodist Church of America over against the Catholic Church of France,

and excommunicated at least ten thousand of those added during his

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Supplement C, Report of Shuntefu Station.

Central China American Presbyterian Station Reports, 1901-02, p. 61.

The Central China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: Station Reports, 1904-05 (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1905), p. 5.

Report of American Presbyterian Linchow Station from Beginning to Present, p. 26.

Arthur J. Brown, New Forces in Old China (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1904), p. 229.

Bertha L. Selmon, They Do Meet (New York: Froben Press, 1942), p. 70.

[34] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXVII, No. 303.

Minutes of the Thirty-Third Annual Meeting of the Central China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, September 24th to 30th, 1902 (n. p.), pp. 5-6.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.8: Vol. VI, No. 323.

predecessor's superintendency.[35] These were exceptional cases, however, for the vast majority of the United States Protestant mission force came during the decade preceding the revolution of 1911 to realize that the unanticipated consequences of the use by Chinese of the great political power which circumstances had bestowed upon the missionary[36] might be such as to endanger the work in China of the church as a whole.

One of the United States Protestant missions whose members' reaction to the question of lawsuiting has been most fully recorded is the Foochow station of the American Board. There in 1896 W. L. Beard was already refusing to take cases not involving physical violence to the officials,[37] and D. L. Goddard was worrying that the Christians

> are sorely tempted like all Chinese to make out their side as all right, and I am afraid they have presumed on their growing numbers and connection with the "foreigners," who are supposed to have unlimited wealth & power, to boast and threaten.[38]

Before the following April a committee of two Chinese Christians had been set up at one of the chapels under G. H. Hubbard's care to screen members' complaints before taking them to him, which materially lessened his burdens.[39] Ten years later the station set up a comity

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[35] Methodist Library, Biographical Files: E. James, "Forty-Three Years in China," pp. 39-43.

[36] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXV, No. 283.

[37] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. VI, No. 109.

[38] Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 353.

[39] Ibid., Vol. V, No. 110.

committee, the pertinent quotations from whose record and minute book for the period 1907 to 1917 are reproduced below.

Constitution of the Comity Committee

Art. I. The Comity Committee shall consist of the gentlemen of the mission.

Art. II. Its duties shall be as follows:

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f. before an individual missionary can take a Chinese case to the consul, or native official he must get the permission of this committee.

Art. III. Two-thirds shall constitute a quorum.

Art. IV. A notice of seven days shall be given of regular meetings. An extra-ordinary meeting may be called by any member. The minutes of such extra-ordinary meetings shall be sent to all absent members.

Minutes of the Comity Committee

April 27, 1908

Mr. Hubbard stated that a bookseller in his field had been apprehended and shut up by a family in a certain village. Mr. Hubbard had seen the official twice and obtained the bookseller's release and also the arrest of the guilty party. The bookseller and others wanted Mr. Hubbard to see the official again. The general sentiment of the meeting was that Mr. Hubbard do not see the official again unless it was absolutely necessary.

May 6, 1908

Voted, that we as a mission have no legal right to communicate with the official regarding the Christian's case at the Upper Bridge and therefore cannot allow Mr. Gardner nor the preacher to take any action in the case.

May 30, 1908

. . . the case of a woman whose husband abused her and who had been received into the Woman's School. Voted . . . that it is not advisable to see Mr. Lu, but the father be advised to. . . . Mr. Hodous and Hubbard were appointed to communicate this to the father.

June 5, 1908

Voted that Mr. Hubbard be permitted to bring to the notice of the American Consul the anti-Christian plays now acted in Diong Loh.

Voted, that Mr. Hubbard be allowed to bring to the notice of the American Consul the discourteous treatment accorded to Christians in Diong Loh by the magistrate and runners and that the Consul be requested to ask the Foreign Board to caution the magistrate and runners.

July 23, 1908

Question to consider a letter written by Rev. G. H. Hubbard to the American Consul in reference to troubles between Christians and heathen at a village three miles below Pagoda Anchorage.

Voted, that Mr. Hubbard be permitted to ask the submagistrate at Iang Seng to put up a proclamation ordering the villagers to keep the peace, and in case that he cannot, or will not do so that he request the Min Magistrate to post up said proclamation.

May 3, 1909

Moved that Mr. Gardner be authorized to seek consular aid in collecting money due the Sang-pi church.

April 11, 1911

Mr. Hodous as the one in charge of the Diong loh-Pagoda field reported that a church member at Iang-seng had trouble about a certain piece of land and want help about settling the matter. It was voted that we should not take up the case.[40]

As will be seen, no cases were even recorded as being brought to the committee for discussion after 1911, and none were accepted for action after 1909. The research for this study has shown that though methods of implementation varied, the development of policy was similar in the United States Protestant mission stations whose available records are less complete.

During the years between the suppression of the Boxers in northern China and the revolution which was to overturn the Manchu dynasty, United States Protestant missionaries throughout China were as a rule able to assist their converts and others who came to them in

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[40]American Board, ABC: 16.3.7: Vol. IX.

their dealings with the Chinese administration, if they saw fit to do so. However, more and more as the years passed they avoided such involvement. They had always denied any connection with those whose use of the name or symbols of Christianity was patently opposed to its ethical code. By the time of the establishment of the republic, the active participation of United States Protestant missionaries in legal cases was already a thing of the past. Nevertheless, that intervention had graphically demonstrated the temporal power which missionaries, together with other foreigners in China, could wield or call upon when they chose. It therefore had much to do with the decision of both dynastic and revolutionary forces in 1911 to proclaim their intention of respecting all foreign property. That decision was to inaugurate the first of the two main periods of the use of the mission compound as an asylum by members of the Chinese population at large.

CHAPTER IV

REBELLIONS AND THE INVIOLABILITY OF MISSIONS, 1911-1917

The republican revolution against the Manchu dynasty which commenced in October, 1911, at Hanyang and Wuchang, together with the battles fought in Szechwan province during the preceding month over the acceptance of foreign loans for railway construction, marked the beginning of a period of nearly four decades in which hardly a single year passed without some province of China being ravaged either by civil war or by Japanese incursions. In the summer of 1913 the lower Yangtze valley erupted against Yuan Shih-kai's attempt to gather the reins of government into his own hands; and when Yuan announced his intention of mounting the imperial throne at the opening of 1916, in province after province in the southern half of China men took up arms in opposition to such a step. Though Yuan's death in June, 1916, ended the possibility of a repetition of the threat he had posed to the young republic's life, for a month in mid-1917 the Peking area was disturbed by an abortive attempt to restore the imperial line. Shortly thereafter Sun Yat-sen proclaimed the government's existence at Canton rather than Peking, thereby dividing China into two main camps whose wars were to dominate her history for the next eleven years. Meanwhile the

outbreak of World War One had permitted Britain's ally, Japan, to take over the German concessions in Shantung during 1914 and had given her an opportunity to foment a brief and unsuccessful rebellion in that province in 1916. It was during this period of 1911 to 1917 that foreign compounds, and specifically those belonging to the United States Protestant missions with which this study deals, were first widely used as refuges by their non-Christian as well as their Christian neighbors. Both then and during the succeeding decade, as greater and lesser wars raged up and down the provinces of China, the invisible wall of foreign prestige protected the mission enclosure. Though its visible wall or fence was often far less impressive than those of its Chinese-owned neighbors, its foreign ownership made it a fortress more effective than the gun towers built by walled villages or the forts which some wealthy Chinese constructed.[1] People of every description came seeking shelter in the property of United States Protestant missions, which as the events of preceding years had shown were under the watchful care of both American and Chinese officials. In the vast majority of instances they were able to find the safety they desired. This period from 1911 to 1928 may be divided by two events. The first was Sun's proclamation at Canton in 1917 of a rival government to that in Peking, ending the period

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[1] P. N. Halliwell, "To Pass the Days," Life and Light, LII (July-August, 1921), 278-81.

Frank Cartwright, "Another Twice-Born Man," China Christian Advocate, VI (August, 1919), 1-2.

of the young republic's nominal unification. The second was the formation of the alliance between Sun and the Communist International in 1923, which roughly marked the beginning of a period of what may be mildly termed "inattention to the special privileges of foreign nationals." The subsequent decay of the prestige of power, the aspect of foreign prestige which depended upon the exercise of force by foreign governments, had virtually ended the use by Chinese of mission compounds as refuges from other Chinese by the time of the completion in 1928 of the northward drive of the Kuomintang forces. It is with these three divisions of the era of the United States Protestant mission's function as a refuge in time of internal strife that this and the succeeding two chapters will be concerned.

Since the ability of United States Protestant missionaries to offer safety to the Chinese around them during the six years covered by this chapter was due in large measure to their own prestige as unofficial representatives of a foreign nation, it would be well to examine briefly the degree of respect and protection afforded them by the Chinese. Both on the official and on the unofficial level, the actions of citizens of the new republic were influenced by the continuing efforts of the United States consular and diplomatic services to maintain their nationals' personal security. The only violent deaths of United States Protestant missionaries in China during this period occurred at its beginning, in Shensi.[2]

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[2] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1912 (Washington:

Elsewhere in China during the revolution the duties of United States consuls with respect to missionaries were chiefly confined to requesting that they leave interior stations for places of greater safety.[3] They were not always successful, however. For example, Spencer Lewis, one of the few permitted to remain in Szechwan province, was so reluctant to heed consular orders to stay in Chungking that his bishop threatened by telegraph to transfer him out of the province if he did not obey the consul's instructions, and followed the telegram with a long letter concerning the authority of the consul.[4] In later years, after an uprising around Sienyu and Hinghua, Fukien, had caused the missionaries there to leave during the winter of 1912-13 and again in May of 1913, Consul John

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Government Printing Office, 1919), p. 172.

Ibid., 1913 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), pp. 204-14.

Mrs. A. G. Shorrock, "The Rising in Sianfu," Chinese Recorder, XLIII (January, 1912), 54.

[3]Methodist Church, Missionary Correspondence: Box 10, W. B. Cole in Hinghua to F. S. Carson in Sioux City, Iowa, November 24, 1911. (Microfilmed.)

Grace Funk, "Unrest in Shaowu, China," Mission Studies, XXX (April, 1912), 105-06.

"Reliable News from China," Outlook of Missions, III (December, 1911), 24.

Ward Hartman, "From Shenchow to Shanghai," Outlook of Missions, IV (March, 1912), 34-35.

E. A. Beck, "A Night Adventure on the Yangtse," Outlook of Missions, IV (August, 1912), 33-34.

[4]Methodist Library, Biographical Files: Spencer Lewis diary, 1911, pp. 205-08.

Ibid., Spencer Lewis diary, 1912, pp. 234-46.

Fowler at Foochow demanded punishment of the bandits and gentry involved, dismissal of certain officials, indemnity for mission losses, and a guarantee of safety for the missionaries in their travels through the district. In October, President Yuan ordered that these four conditions for a satisfactory settlement be carried into effect.[5] In the Honan-Hupei border regions, the activities of a brigand who succeeded in capturing several American missionaries late in 1913 brought forth a demand by the United States chargé d'affaires in Peking for his suppression.[6] Again, in 1916, after Kwangtung's independence was declared by its governor Lung Chi-kuang, the Southern Baptists at Yingtak above Canton requested the United States consul to arrange for a special train to bring them to Canton, and within a period of two weeks missionaries in the Samshui area twice asked the Canton consulate to have the governor send troops as a protection from the brigands then overrunning the district.[7] Since Chinese officials placed guards at mission compounds

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[5]Methodist Library, Project Files: Midsummer Report of the Methodist Day, Boarding, High, and Normal Schools for Hinghwa Speaking Boys and Men, 1913.

F. S. Carson, "The Hinghwa Situation," China Christian Advocate, I (February, 1914), 5.

"The Hinghwa Situation Clears," China Christian Advocate, I (March, 1914), 6.

[6]Foreign Relations of the United States, 1913, p. 139.

A. H. Smith, "The Events of the Year as Related to Missions," Chinese Recorder, XLV (January, 1914), 10.

"The Month in the Far East," Chinese Recorder, XLV (January, 1914), 69-70.

[7]Foreign Relations of the United States, 1916 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925), pp. 73-74.

in a number of cities both during[8] and after[9] the revolution of 1911-12, it was not an unusual request to make.

Despite the protective measures taken by Chinese and American officials, United States Protestants were frequently in physical danger during the period. Usually when they were attacked it was by robbers, armed or otherwise, rather than by the rioters who had in the past been the chief cause of harm to a missionary's purse and person.[10] As missionaries of various societies went downriver from the cities of western Szechwan to Chungking for safety during the months of the revolution of 1911-12, some of them had unpleasant experiences with brigands and self-styled revolutionaries who were little more than bandits.[11] After

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[8] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXV, No. 33.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.15: Vol. VII, No. 194.
Methodist Library, Project Files: Annual Report of the Bible-Women's Training School at Sienyu, 1912.
Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1912 (New York: American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1912), p. 102.
Clara M. Cushman, Tientsin Scribbles (n. p.; 1925), p. 26.

[9] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XVII, No. 410.
E. A. Beck, "A Calm Recital of Thrilling Experiences in War Times in China," Outlook of Missions, IX (February, 1917), 78-81.
Belle Myers, "Back in Siu Lam," Woman's Evangel, XXXV (December, 1916), 415.

[10] One of the few riots of the pre-1911 type occurred during the railway loan agitation in Szechwan.
Methodist Church, Missionary Correspondence: Box 9, W. E. Manly in Tzechow to New York, September 8, 1911. (Microfilmed.)

[11] Methodist Library, Biographical Files: Spencer Lewis diary, 1912, p. 188.
American Baptist Foreign Mission Society files: Joseph Taylor, "West of the Yangtze Gorges" (manuscript, 1936), pp. 160-63.
R. L. Simkin, "Robbed on the River," West China Missionary News, XIV (January-February, 1912), 32-35.

the establishment of the republic, United States Protestant missionaries in the central and southern provinces continued to have difficulties with soldiers and robbers.[12] Nevertheless, both during and after the revolution, missionaries found that warring armies would cease firing to allow them to pass.[13] Not until 1916 were they recorded as subject to theft and robbery in the provinces of the Yellow River valley.[14] Missionaries

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[12] American Board, ABC: 16.3.8: Vol. VII, No. 371.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XVI, No. 486.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 106-3, 1916, E. F. Knickerbocker in Ningpo to New York, December 11, 1912.
Ibid., 26-2, 1917, Miss E. A. Churchill, Report of Evangelistic Work.
Tooker Memorial Hospital: Soochow, China: Report for 1912, (n. p.), p. 5.
Report of the Central China Conference of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1915 (n. p.), p. 9.
"Letter from Dr. William Malcolm," Missionary Survey, I (October, 1912), 917.
W. H. Tipton, "Striking Events in South China," Foreign Mission Journal, LXV (August, 1914), 37.
"Interesting Passages in Recent Letters from the Field," Mission Field, XXVIII (December, 1915), 368.
Mrs. C. E. Ranck, "From China," Missionary Messenger, XXIX (January, 1916), 4.
Lillie Snowden Bousfield, Sun-Wu Stories (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1932), pp. 5-6.
Edith Eberle, Macklin of Nanking (St. Louis, Mo.: Bethany, 1936), p. 158.

[13] W. E. Manly, "A Perilous Position," West China Missionary News, XV (October, 1913), 4-5.
J. Sundstrom, "Missionaries under Fire in China," Foreign Mission Journal, LXVI (October, 1916), 499.
Una R. Lawrence, Lottie Moon (Nashville, Tenn.: Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1927), pp. 297-99.

[14] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXIII, No. 80.
Ibid., Vol. XXXVI, No. 210.
"Changli," China Christian Advocate, IV (March, 1917), 18.
Amy N. Hinshaw, Messengers of the Cross in China (Kansas

suffered far less than the Chinese populace from the disturbed conditions resulting from regional warfare or local banditry. Between 1912 and 1917 they enjoyed an unparalleled degree of safety. The personal perils they encountered had changed from mob violence directed specifically at foreigners to the general dangers faced by anyone living in a wartorn countryside; yet their status as foreigners protected them from most of the violence to which Chinese were subjected. Late in 1911 one missionary did record his concern over the possibility that the local military commander might attack him so as to involve the besieging revolutionaries with the West;[15] but it was not until the 1920's that the personal safety of missionaries was to become one of the chessmen actually used in the game for the control of China.

Not only was the person of the United States Protestant missionary safe from harm, however. The enclosure within whose walls he lived possessed the same immunity, since it too was under the protection of the United States government. During times of disturbance it was frequently marked by a United States flag,[16] which between 1911 and 1917

City, Mo.: Church of the Nazarene, 1931), pp. 47-48.
Selmon, They Do Meet, pp. 158-62.

[15] J. W. Creighton, "A Bit of Diary," Yeung Kong Station Bi-Monthly, No. 51 (November, 1911), p. 2.

[16] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXIV, No. 653.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.14: Vol. II, No. 352.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.15: Vol. VII, No. 228.
Letter from Harry B. Taylor to author, March 27, 1956.
H. J. Openshaw, "The Imperialists' Last Stand," West China

was granted more respect than it had been during the Boxer era.[17] Moreover, in the Peking-Tientsin area[18] and at Foochow[19] United States marines were sent to guard mission compounds during the revolution of 1911-12, as they had been in 1900[20] in Peking and Tientsin.[21] However,

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Missionary News, XIV (March-April, 1912), 12.

R. L. Torrey, "Tzechow during the Troublesome Times," West China Missionary News, XVIII (September, 1916), 21.

"Shot and Shell," West China Missionary News, XIX (September, 1917), 15.

J. M. Blain, "Independent Hangchow," Bi-Monthly Bulletin, VIII (March-April, 1916), 779.

G. A. Huntley, "Revolutionary Experiences in Hankow," Missions, IV (August, 1913), 622.

Elizabeth Reifsnyder, "Anxious Times," Missionary Link, XLIV (November, 1913), 5.

"Flags Wanted," Friends Oriental News, VI (October, 1913), 4.

"America's Supreme Opportunity," All the World, X (January, 1914), 44.

J. M. B. Gill, "Shot and Shell in Nanking," Spirit of Missions, LXXVIII (December, 1913), 841.

[17] For example:
Mateer, Siege Days, p. 26.
Porter, W. S. Ament, p. 183.

[18] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXI, Nos. 122, 283.
Ibid., Vol. XXXV, No. 425a.
Ibid., Vol. XXXVI, No. 522.

[19] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XV, No. 169.
"Letter by Dr. Kinnear," Foochow Messenger, January, 1912, p. 14.

[20] "Letter from Miss F. B. Patterson," Life and Light, XXX (September, 1900), 413.
Mrs. A. H. Smith, "The Story of the Siege," Life and Light, XXXI (March, 1901), 134.
Mateer, Siege Days, pp. 83, 105.

[21] Perhaps it was not entirely surprising that the people of eastern Shansi who plotted in 1913 to destroy a newly-established mission gave up their plans. The reason, according to one of the missionaries present

the most effective protection for mission compounds and other foreign properties in China was not the symbol of foreign power, a flag or a token guard of four to ten marines, but the interest of Chinese in keeping it unharmed. When revolution broke out in 1911, neither side cared to run the risk of provoking foreign intervention against itself. Therefore, at the beginning of the hostilities in the Wuhan cities whose outbreak on October 10th, 1911, is celebrated as the birthdate of the Chinese republic, the revolutionaries proclaimed that only the Manchu government which they were attacking was to be harmed. Moreover, they attached the same penalty, decapitation, to the injury of foreigners as they did to the concealment of officials or the interruption of commerce.[22] The government forces, too, were careful to protect foreign interests, as their willingness to cease firing in the direction of the Hankow foreign concession when requested to do so by the consuls[23] and their permission for the removal of supplies stored in the American

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at the time, was that the unfamiliar iron stoves and packing boxes brought by muleback to the mission station--which happened to be staffed by a denomination one of whose leading tenets is the refusal to resort to violence--were assumed by the country people to be cannon and ammunition brought in for use if the mission were attacked.
Confidential letter to author, September 15, 1956.

[22] "The Month in the Far East," Chinese Recorder, XLII (November, 1911), 668.

[23] "At the Heart of the Conflict," Spirit of Missions, LXXVI (December, 1911), 1008.

Baptist hospital in Hanyang[24] showed. When the revolutionists took over Foochow, Changteh, Ningpo, Hangchow, and Soochow,[25] some of their number were sent to guard or reassure in person the residents of the mission compounds in those cities, while elsewhere, as in Yochow, Hunan,[26] proclamations were posted similar to the above-mentioned one of October, 1911, at Wuchang. As T. J. Preston at Changteh said,

> So far as we can see, we are being carefully protected, probably not out of love, but the republicans know that it might mean failure to their program if any missionary is killed or property destroyed.[27]

Something similar might be said of the imperial troops during the four months between the revolt in Hupei and the abdication of the emperor. The commander in Nanking, for example, gave guards and flags of yellow (the imperial color) to its mission hospitals.[28] In Szechwan too, where

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[24] G. A. Huntley, "Revolutionary Experiences in Hankow," Missions, IV (August, 1913), 621-22.

[25] "Letter by Dr. Kinnear," Foochow Messenger, January, 1912, p. 20.
T. J. Preston, "China's Revolution," The Presbyterian Advance, December 21, 1911, p. 32.
"Reassuring News from East China," Missions, III (January, 1912), 67.
W. H. Stuart, "The Revolution at Hangchow," Missionary Survey, I (May, 1912), 495.
Mary Culler White, "A Birthday behind a Guard of Soldiers," The Missionary Voice, II (July, 1912), 423.

[26] "Reliable News from China," Outlook of Missions, III (December, 1911), 24.

[27] T. J. Preston, "China's Revolution," The Presbyterian Advance, December 21, 1911, p. 32.

[28] The Revolution Year in the Kiangan Mission (n. p.: 1912), p. 54.

the signing of an agreement for a foreign loan to build a projected railroad had roused the people by the end of August, 1911, to such a pitch of emotion that during September Szechwan was having its own private revolution, both government and rebels promised safety to foreigners in Chengtu.[29] At Yachow government forces were sent to guard the American Baptist compound.[30] After the provincial rebellion had merged into the nationwide revolution, Spencer Lewis at Chungking, like Preston at Changteh halfway between Chungking and the sea, wrote that

> the revolutionists take the utmost pains to avoid injuring foreigners or foreign property, knowing that this might lead to foreign intervention, and so prove disastrous to their cause.

He added that all mission property was immune to attack, whether a foreigner were in residence or not.[31]

With actions and proclamations such as those described above to encourage them, it was no wonder that during the months of late 1911 and early 1912 the people in the vicinity of a mission station or chapel began to turn en masse to it as a place where greater safety from fighting or plundering soldiery might be found than in their homes. The six

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[29] Joseph Taylor, "The Besieged Missionaries in Chengtu," Missions, III (January, 1912), 4-5.

[30] H. J. Openshaw, "Revolutionary Experiences in China," Missions, III (March, 1912), 176.

[31] Methodist Church, Missionary Correspondence: Box 9, Spencer Lewis in Chungking to New York, November 18, 1911. (Microfilmed.)

months after the outbreak of the revolution of 1911 saw the first real influx of large groups of Chinese into mission compounds. Many flocked to foreign settlements and concessions such as that in Tientsin, but mission compounds were more easily reached because of their wide geographical distribution. Christians were naturally among those who came, since they were already familiar with the compound and its residents.[32] The phenomenon noted by most of the missionaries who served as hosts during those trying months, however, was the number of non-Christians, and in particular of highly-placed non-Christians, who preferred to trust the foreigner's walls for protection. On the side of the imperialists, both the Manchus and their Chinese administrators sought safety with United States Protestant and other missionaries as the revolutionists took city after city. In Wuchang, during the revolutionists' massacre of Manchus at the opening of the revolution, the Manchu quarter

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[32] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXIII, No. 34.
Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, Nos. 99, 197, 198.
Ibid., Vol. XXXV, Nos. 33, 51.
Methodist Library, Biographical Files: Spencer Lewis diary, 1912, p. 193.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 106-3, 1911, J. W. Lowrie in Paotingfu to New York, November 27, 1911.
Christian and Missionary Alliance, Central China Mission, Report for the Year 1912 (n. p.), pp. 7-8.
L. T. Hu, "A Profession of Thanks to Almighty God," Hankow Newsletter, XIII (December, 1933), 6.
D. W. Richardson, "Fall Work at Chinkiang, China," Missionary Survey, I (February, 1912), 285.
Mrs. B. F. Bean, "Foundling Home Stories," Woman's Evangel, XXXI (February, 1912), 55-56.
Cushman, Tientsin Scribbles, p. 66.

was too well guarded for them to be able to escape to the missions.[33] In Anking, though, in November of 1911, the Chinese governor fled to a Protestant Episcopal hospital when the revolutionists attacked his residence intending to kill him, and at three in the morning the American doctor in charge saw him to safety on a Japanese gunboat.[34] Manchus in Nanking came in small groups to foreign compounds when the Manchu quarter there was sacked and burned after the city fell to the revolutionists in December, 1911.[35] Manchu women and children also fled to the Southern Presbyterians in Tsingkiangpu.[36] To the north, in Peking, the widespread alarm brought about elaborate plans for the establishment of refuges not only in missions but also in several large Chinese compounds offered for that purpose, partly in an attempt to save them from any general looting.[37] Under the direction of Miss Luella Miner

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[33] "At the Heart of the Conflict," Spirit of Missions, LXXVI (December, 1911), 1007-1008.

[34] Letter from Harry B. Taylor to author, March 27, 1956.

[35] The Revolution Year in the Kiangan Mission, p. 58.
Jane Hyde, "The Manchus in Nanking," Woman's Work in the Far East, XXXIII (March, 1912), 7-9.
Esther H. Butler, "Life Sketch of Dr. Lucy A. Gaynor," Woman's Work in the Far East, XXXIII (September, 1912), 130.

[36] William Malcolm, "At the Front," Bi-Monthly Bulletin, V (January-February, 1912), 24.

[37] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXV, No. 425a.
B. P. Reed, "Recent Days in Peking," Life and Light, XLII (February, 1912), 67-69.

of the American Board, seventeen refuges were designated. Her Society for the Protection of Women and Children was recognized on October 31st by the Imperial Board of the Interior. Some seven or eight thousand, including one imperial princess, registered with it. Those who registered received tickets entitling them to entry into one of the seventeen buildings listed as refuges. However, only a few hundreds actually came to missions, either in the early winter or during a later period of anxiety in March, 1912.[38] The governor of Shantung became a patient in the Shantung Christian University Medical School's hospital, and Admiral Sah one in an American Presbyterian men's hospital at Tsinan, shortly after the revolutionists took Chefoo in November, 1911.[39] In south China, at Yeung Kong, the military official and one of the gentry asked asylum for their families in November, 1911. The following day the civil magistrate sought refuge for himself and family, but he was not allowed to enter.[40] Revolutionists, too, sheltered themselves on occasion, as at Tsingchowfu, Shantung, in January of 1912,[41]

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[38] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXIII, No. 486.
Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, No. 653.
Ibid., Vol. XXXVI, No. 522.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.13: Vol. II, Section 1, No. 17.

[39] Heeren, On the Shantung Front, p. 145.

[40] J. W. Creighton, "A Bit of Diary," Yeung Kong Station Bi-Monthly, No. 51 (November, 1911), pp. 1-2

[41] The Annual Register and Report of the Shantung Christian University, 1912 (n. p.), p. 42.

but since theirs was the winning side they rarely needed to seek safety. Noncombatants flocked to missions from Chihli to Kwangtung and Kiangsu to Szechwan, though, in the disturbances which accompanied and followed the revolution.[42] Post-revolutionary outbreaks sent officials of the new government to United States Protestant missions. Probably the highest-ranking of these guests during the year 1911 to 1917 was the head of the Foreign Office.[43]

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[42] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXI, Nos. 81, 173.
Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, No. 34.
Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, No. 672.
Ibid., Vol. XXXV, Nos. 33, 48, 51, 157.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. II, Section 1, No. 10.
Ibid., Vol. II, Isabelle Phelps letters, No. 14.
Methodist Church, Missionary Correspondence, Box 9: Spencer Lewis in Chungking to New York, November 18, 1911. (Microfilmed.)
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 19-2, 1912, Annual Report of Paotingfu Station.
Ibid., 26-2 and 26-8, 1912, Report of Mrs. Charles E. Patton.
Ibid., 26-2 and 26-8, 1912, Outline of Report on South China Mission.
Ibid., 106-3, 1912, unsigned letter received in New York June 20, 1912.
H. J. Openshaw, "The Imperialists' Last Stand," West China Missionary News, XIV (March-April, 1912), 9-13.
"Linchow during the First Revolution," The Linchow Parish, II (November, 1916), 8.
James B. Woods, Jr., "My Experiences in the Chinese Revolution," The Columbian, June, 1914, p. 14.
James B. Woods, Sr., "A Riot at Tsingkiangpu," Missionary Survey, I (March, 1912), 379-80.
Gertrude Chaney, "How the Revolution Came to Shansi," Mission Studies, XXX (April, 1912), 108.

[43] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXIII, No. 34.
Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, No. 672.
Ibid., Vol. XXXV, No. 157.
Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1912, p. 102.

United States Protestant missions, like those of the societies of other nations, served during the revolution as actual or potential refuges for people of every description from the towns and villages of China in which they were set. The pattern of refuge-taking established then was to continue for the remainder of the period discussed in this chapter, and to persist with modifications through the succeeding decade.[44] The "second revolution," as the Yangtze-valley rebellion of 1913 was called at the time, brought new disturbances to central China. The few United States Protestants who remained in Nanking throughout the month-long siege of the city and its aftermath rendered the most spectacular services of any of their compatriots. During the siege the American Presbyterians kept over seven hundred of those connected with the mission as adherents, families of day-school pupils, and so on, and the Friends over one hundred;[45] but when the Peking government's victorious soldiers began to sack the city upon their entry on September 1st, another three hundred of their neighbors both poor and wealthy joined the

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[44] For example:
American Board, ABC: 16.3.8: Vol. VII, No. 310.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXII, No. 194.
Report of West China Baptist Conference, January 6-13, 1914 (n. p.), pp. 14-16.
W. R. Wellwood, "Looting at Ning Yuen Fu," Missions, IV (June, 1913), 505.
Julia N. Wood, "Nights of Peril," Missionary Link, XLIV (November, 1913), 6-7.

[45] Another Year in the Kiangan Mission, 1913 (n. p.), pp. 7-9.
Li Yuin Tsao, "'A Shelter in the Time of Storm,'" Friends Oriental News, VI (October, 1913), 5.

American Presbyterians, neighbors and school girls from all over the city went to the Friends (where one foreigner stayed in the gatehouse night and day until the emergency passed), and a thousand fled to the Foreign Christian Missionary Society hospital. J. M. B. Gill of the Protestant Episcopal mission, who housed a large number in his compound, found that in order to keep his charges safe he had to open his gate and show the government troops he was a foreigner. Street chapels and day schools of all the missions sheltered their constituencies nearly as well as the enclosures in which there were mission residences, even though the handful of foreigners remaining in the city could visit them only rarely.[46]

The entrance of Japan into World War One, and her subsequent seizure of German interests in Shantung, meant that during the autumn months of 1914 hundreds of the gentry and merchant classes came to the mission compounds as the Japanese troops entered town. It might be because the Japanese were billeting themselves on the town's residents

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[46] Another Year in the Kiangan Mission, 1913, p. 9.
"The Social Situation in Nanking," Chinese Recorder, XLIV (November, 1913), 711.
M. A. Holme, "Siege in Nanking," Friends Oriental News, VI (October, 1913), 7.
L. M. S[tanley], "A Testimony," Friends Oriental News, VI (October, 1913), 8.
"Nanking," Missionary Intelligencer, XXVII (November, 1914), 468-71.
J. M. B. Gill, "Shot and Shell in Nanking," Spirit of Missions, LXXVIII (December, 1913), 840-41.
W. Reginald Wheeler, John E. Williams of Nanking (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1937), pp. 88-89.

as in Laichowfu and Pingtu[47] or simply because of fright as in Weihsien.[48] Twenty months later, when Japanese-supported "revolutionaries" briefly held Weihsien,[49] women and children again flocked to the American Presbyterian compound a mile from the city. At first only the families of members and students were allowed to enter, but soon all who applied were admitted till the mission's capacity was reached. However, none might enter or leave without permission, a rule enforced by keeping an American man constantly on duty at the gate.[50]

In 1916 the ferment produced by Yuan Shih-kai's announcement that he would accept the responsibilities of the imperial throne led to several outbreaks in which United States Protestant missions became involved. In Shansi, during the April fighting between soldiers and mutineers in Sueitechow, the Chinese pastor used the American Board's church compound to shelter up to six hundred of the townspeople at a

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[47] Mrs. Charles A. Leonard, "Work Hindered by War," Royal Service, IX (January, 1915), 19.
"Letter from William H. Sears," Foreign Mission Journal, LXV (January, 1915), 207-08.

[48] Charlotte E. Hawes, "China and the European War," The Presbyterian Banner, December 31, 1914, p. 24.
"China," All the World, XI (January, 1915), 15-16.

[49] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1916, pp. 72, 79-81, 95-96.

[50] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 20-2, 1916, Annual Report of the Weihsien Station.
Ibid., 106-3, 1916, J. W. Lowrie in Shanghai to New York, May 12, 1916.

time.[51] At Kiangyin, where the rebels held the forts for slightly over a week late in April, the Southern Presbyterian hospital received the wives and children of the wealthiest and most influential men in the city.[52] In Szechwan, meanwhile, when a Yunnanese army under Tsai O reached Tzechow, those who fled to the Methodist Episcopal compounds included the city official and such of the gentry as had remained in town.[53] The decreasing probity of the Yunnanese regime after Tsai O's death led the Szechwanese to drive them out during the ensuing year, however. During the last two weeks of April, 1917, fighting in Chengtu sent girls from both Christian and government schools to Methodist Episcopal and American Baptist basements[54] and "rich and poor, men and women, gentry and coolies, children and aged . . . whole families, whole schools, families of high officials, bevies of young girls, and transitory members of both parties" to West China Union University outside the city walls.[55] By August 5th the Canadian Methodists of the city were

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[51] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXI, No. 19.

[52] Lacy I. Moffett, "Strenuous Days," Bi-Monthly Bulletin, VIII (May-June, 1916), 806.

[53] "Tzechow," China Christian Advocate, III (August, 1916), 15.
R. L. Torrey, "Tzechow during the Troublesome Times," West China Missionary News, XVIII (September, 1916), 21-24.

[54] "The Outbreak in Chengtu," China Christian Advocate, IV (June, 1917), 10.
E. I. Upcraft, "Work in Government Normal School for Women," West China Missionary News, XIX (July, 1917), 39.
Idem, "Reaching Government School Girls," Missions, VIII (November, 1917), 778-79.

[55] The Eighth Annual Report of the Senate of the West China Union University, 1917 (n. p.), p. 12.

again receiving requests for asylum.[56] The struggle had by then moved to Tzechow. The new stone building of the Methodist Episcopal mission outside that city held two hundred during the five-day battle.[57] The last stand of the Yunnanese was made at Suifu, where twenty thousand Szechwan troops, many of whom were so rough as to be almost bandits, soon bested their three thousand opponents. They promptly claimed the privileges of conquerors, looting and bayoneting not only their defeated enemies but their fellow-provincials. With their commander's approval, D. C. Graham of the American Baptists took three members of the Szechwan legislature who happened to be in Suifu at the time into his own house for safety, and set up the American Baptist church as a refuge for the few remaining Yunnanese soldiers. One hundred fifty of them stayed there till the victors' tempers had cooled. The Szechwanese commander had the rest of the Yunnanese guarded in the yamen.[58] The chief cause of excitement in Peking during 1917 was a brief attempt to restore the emperor. As in 1911-12, many went to the various missions for refuge.[59]

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[56] "Chengtu," China Christian Advocate, IV (October, 1917), 22.

[57] "Tzechow," China Christian Advocate, IV (September, 1917), 16.
"Tzechow," China Christian Advocate, IV (October, 1917), 21.

[58] Letters from David C. Graham to author, March 23 and April 9, 1956.

[59] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXV, No. 187a.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.13: Vol. III, Bertha Reed letters, No. 31.
Methodist Library, Biographical Files: Spencer Lewis diary, 1917, pp. 104-08.
"Peking," China Christian Advocate, IV (August, 1917), 16.

Shortly thereafter with the setting up of the rival government of Sun Yat-sen in Canton began the series of wars between northern and southern forces with which the next chapter will be concerned.

Thus during the period from the beginning of the revolution at Wuchang to the splitting of the young republic into two halves whose borders were to fluctuate with the fortunes of war for the next eleven years, United States Protestant mission compounds provided a refuge for all who could reach them in time whenever conditions drove the local populace to leave their homes. More and more, mission-owned buildings acted as miniature foreign concessions dotted over the countryside for the benefit of those unable during warfare to take either the time or the money required for the journey from an interior district to a treaty port. From the Chinese point of view, it was highly fortunate that these conveniently-situated foreign properties should also be in charge of persons whose sympathy with human suffering made them always ready to shelter their neighbors in time of emergency. Though the number of Christians among the refugees was naturally far greater than the proportion they bore to the population as a whole, the same might be said of the upper classes of Chinese society. Having the most to lose if taken for ransom or otherwise plundered, they were also likely to be among the first to ask the foreigner for shelter.[60] It was certainly true that

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[60] For example:
Bousfield, Sun-Wu Stories, p. 12.
"Mission Work in Mongolia," Chinese Recorder, XLVIII (July, 1917), 476.

missions harbored a greater percentage of women and children than was present in the general populace, for missionaries tended, as did A. A. Bullock of the American Presbyterian mission in Nanking during the summer of 1913,[61] to encourage men to act as watchmen over their own homes.

However, missionaries also safeguarded Chinese who were not actually within their compound walls. In previous years they had gone to the yamen to champion the Christian's right to obey his conscience in matters involving non-Christian ceremonials. Though during the last years of the Manchu dynasty they ceased to allow themselves to be involved in yamen cases, the outbreak of civil war prompted them to use their position as foreign nationals to save their Chinese associates and acquaintances from mistreatment at the hands of soldiers and brigands. As we have seen, they sheltered Chinese by the hundreds within their compounds; but they also took an interest in the preservation of other non-combatants. Their activity in the defense of families and individuals swirled into the maelstrom of war outside the mission walls was so notable, in fact, that it deserves to be regarded as one of the factors contributing to the security of the Chinese who did flee to the missions. Those within a mission's gates were guarded not only by the general disinclination of Chinese to damage foreign properties, but by the fact that missionaries were conspicuous for their assistance to Chinese

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[61] Another Year in the Kiangan Mission, 1913, p. 7.

nationals caught on the public thoroughfares or trapped in their ancestral homes. Soldiers who found on the street that an unarmed missionary did not hesitate to request them to release Chinese whom he believed innocent of wrongdoing did not between 1911 and 1917 brave the possible consequences of committing depredations against those who were within his walls.

In the earliest days of the anti-Manchu revolution, thanks to the disposition of both parties to leave foreigners unmolested for fear of inviting Western or Japanese intervention, United States Protestants found themselves able outside of their own enclosures not only to rescue Chinese connected with them, but on occasion even some of the Manuchs who in a few areas were hunted down for extermination. One teacher in Wuchang succeeded in disguising a few members of the families of her Manchu pupils and slipping them over the river to the Hankow concession.[62] A doctor of another mission at Hanyang saved one of his evangelists from the summary execution dealt out by the revolutionists to all who harbored Manchus, and a churchmember from the fate of those found buying cloth (even in innocence) from looters.[63] The mere possession of a letter from a third missionary of the Wuhan area saved his head assistant from death as a spy when the man was stopped by

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[62] Letter from Deaconess Gertrude Stewart to author, March 20, 1956.

[63] "Missionary Heroes in China," Missions, III (February, 1912), 93-94.

soldiers in Wuchang.[64] During the revolutionists' siege of Nanking, Dr. W. E. Macklin of the Foreign Christian Missionary Society persuaded the imperialists' general to grant passports to the queueless among Macklin's staff and their families so that they need not fear to go out on the street.[65] At Yachow, Szechwan, an American Baptist, H. J. Openshaw, rescued one of his churchmembers when in September of 1911 the man was bound as a suspected agent of the Railway League,[66] and another arrested at the opening of 1912 as a revolutionary. Eight days after the revolutionists had taken the city, the Manchu prefect came to him. However, Openshaw was able to reassure him that he was not on the new government's blacklist.[67] As the revolution spread northward, a student recently suspended for revolutionary propaganda by the Tungchow college faculty was arrested in January, 1912, in connection with the throwing of a bomb at Yuan Shih-kai. Two members of the faculty, imagining that he was innocent of anything but speechmaking,

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[64] G. A. Huntley, "Revolutionary Experiences in Hankow," Missions, IV (August, 1913), 617.

[65] W. E. Macklin, "How Missionaries Protect Queueless Nankin Students," Missionary Intelligencer, XXV (April, 1912), 160.
The cutting of the queue, which had been imposed upon Chinese men by the conquering Manchus during the seventeenth century, was generally regarded as a symbol of allegiance to republican principles.

[66] H. J. Openshaw, "Revolutionary Experiences in China," Missions, III (March, 1912), 177.

[67] H. J. Openshaw, "The Imperialists' Last Stand," West China Missionary News, XIV (March-April, 1912), 12.

went to headquarters intending to use his relationship to the college in pleading for him. When they heard the evidence against him, however, they confined their remarks to his youth and love of country, and he was executed together with his five companions.[68] When one of the revolutionaries' negotiators in Manchuria was seized early in 1912, an American Board missionary in his home city forwarded a telegram to Wu Ting-fang asking his release, for the leading men of Paotingfu dared not send it over their own names.[69] Later in the year another American Board member succeeded in freeing a falsely-charged man after four years in prison, after Yuan Shih-kai had proclaimed the toleration of all religions.[70]

During the months of the "second revolution" of 1913, twenty of the delegates to a Young Men's Christian Association conference at Kuling, Kiangsi, had to find a missionary to take them over the battlefield back to their homes, since the military officers would only let them through the lines if they had a foreign escort.[71] At Hinghua, where an

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[68] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXV, No. 255. American Board, ABC: 16.3.13: Vol. II, Alice Lyman Browne letters, No. 7.

[69] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXV, No. 39.

[70] F. Brown, "In North China," Chinese Recorder, XLIV (January, 1913), 19.

[71] American Board, ABC: 16.3.6: Vol. III, Elizabeth S. Perkins of Diongloh to Boston, July 24, 1913.

opium ring sought to gain control of the countryside, the missionaries brought in Consul John Fowler of Foochow when eleven Christians were kidnapped in June of 1913, and ten of their lives were saved by his efforts.[72] In Anking, the Protestant Episcopal representatives rescued one man from execution as an enemy of Yuan's government,[73] and when Nanking fell to Yuan's general, W. E. Macklin and another doctor, an American Baptist, went to the victor to plead for the whole city. They were partly successful, for the riotous conduct of his men lasted only three days.[74] This was not the only time during the period when United States Protestants interceded for Chinese not directly connected with their mission as employees or adherents, though. In the following year, a Southern Presbyterian at Yencheng, Kiangsu, spoke privately to the officer who had arrested as an arms-runner one whom the missionary believed innocent. The man's execution was delayed until his witnesses appeared.[75] Before Yuan's death ended one Chinese official's term as governor of Hunan, Dr. E. H. Hume of Yale-in-China and a member of the hospital staff had succeeded in persuading him to commute to life

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[72] F. S. Carson, "The Hinghwa Situation," China Christian Advocate, I (February, 1914), 5.

[73] "Church Membership in China," World Call, N. S. IV (July, 1922), 38.

[74] Eberle, Macklin of Nanking, pp. 156-58.

[75] H. W. White, "Yencheng Field Notes," Missionary Survey, III (July, 1914), 538-39.

imprisonment the sentence of execution passed by Peking upon three provincial officials who had served his predecessor.[76] Moreover, in Shantung during 1916, when sixty-five Japanese soldiers were sent to Laiyang after four Japanese who were held there for shooting two Chinese, two Southern Baptists convinced the troops' commander that he should maintain order while in the city.[77]

The efforts of missionaries in China on behalf of non-combatants during this period were also bent toward making peace or at least establishing truces between warring forces. Their occasional service as mediators in clan feuds during previous years from Kwangtung to Shantung[78] had prepared them to fulfill the function of the go-between essential to the arrangement of any agreement between two or more parties in China. However, the recurring strife of the first years following the revolution greatly increased their opportunities to perform these duties. Before the local wars touched off by Yuan Shih-kai's announcement of his impending ascent to the imperial throne, W. E. Macklin and one or two other United States Protestant missionaries had

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[76] Hume, Doctors East, Doctors West, pp. 239-40.

[77] "Letter from T. O. Hearn," Foreign Mission Journal, LXVI (July, 1916), 404-05.

[78] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XIV, No. 95.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: East Shantung, 1905, Personal Report of J. P. Irwin.
William Ashmore, "A Clan Feud near Swatow," Chinese Recorder, XXVIII (May, 1897), 218.

reinforced the United States vice-consul in the negotiations which ended the siege of Nanking at the opening of December, 1911.[79] As the Yunnanese penetrated Szechwan province during 1916, two American Baptists late in March arranged their peaceful entry into Suifu, and one of them later performed the same service in Lanchi,[80] while in July the card of a Methodist Episcopal missionary was used to reassure the invaders that the emissaries of the besieged garrison at Tzechow were in earnest.[81] At Yenping, Fukien, when in June of 1916 Hunanese troops and local bandits raised the republican standard in ignorance of the recent death of Yuan, Harry R. Caldwell and his fellow-missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal board succeeded in bringing the Hunanese and Northern commanders together. The Hunanese had already disposed of the bandits upon hearing of the impending arrival of northern troops, and peace was re-established without further casualties.[82] In Kiangsi, the wife of the absent American Baptist C. E. Bousfield was

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[79] The Revolution Year in the Kiangan Mission, p. 56.
Eberle, Macklin of Nanking, pp. 153-54.

[80] H. F. R[udd], "Suifu," West China Missionary News, XVIII (May, 1916), 29-30.

[81] R. L. Torrey, "Tzechow during the Troublesome Times," West China Missionary News, XVIII (September, 1916), 21-24.

[82] "The Yenping Rebellion," Foochow Messenger, October, 1916, pp. 3-4.
Harry R. Caldwell, Blue Tiger (New York: Abingdon Press, 1924), pp. 234-58.

pressed into service to plead for the life of the city governor of Sun-wu or Chang-ning when a group of bandits took the town.[83]

The assistance rendered by United States Protestant missions and missionaries to Chinese caught in civil strife between 1911 and 1917 may be illustrated by a description of the experience of the Southern Presbyterians who comprised the entire Protestant missionary body of Kiangyin, Kiangsu, in April of 1916. They had been at work since 1895 in the strategic and well-fortified city, which lay halfway between Shanghai and Nanking on the south bank of the Yangtze. After the standard of revolt was raised early in 1916 against Yuan Shih-kai, on April 17th the Kiangyin garrison joined the side of the rebels. Six days later they sallied toward Wusih, near Soochow, to engage its troops in battle. Lacy I. Moffett and George C. Worth of the Kiangyin Southern Presbyterian mission were then requested to arrange a truce, which they succeeded in doing on the 24th. Meanwhile the gentry had hastened to put their wives and children in the mission hospital. Some claimed illness, but others simply said they believed the foreign Christian hospital to be the safest place in the city. The boys' school pupils went home to make room for more refugees. The girls' school was crowded with its pupils and their families and friends by the time Moffett and Worth escorted the Kiangyin negotiator to Wusih on the 25th.

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[83] Bousfield, Sun-Wu Stories, pp. 12-13.

At that time arrangements were made to unite the Kiangyin garrison with the Wusih forces, since both opposed Yuan. Unfortunately, when the Wusih men came to Kiangyin on the 26th, a misunderstanding led to a brief battle before the part of the garrison which had remained in Kiangyin throughout the week of tension agreed to accept them as comrades in arms. Moffett wrote of the hours when cannonballs whizzed overhead,

> When the fighting actually began the east gate chapel was crowded with people who had a vague idea that they were safer there than anywhere else. They were a mixed crowd, even for China, gentlemen in their silk gowns, and well-to-do mothers with their children in their arms, not scorning to take refuge beside the poorest coolies in the Christian chapel.

His fellow-worker, Miss Anna M. Sykes, added that

> the gentry of the city . . . fled in a most ungenteel manner to the hospital and foreign homes, where the non-Christians insisted that "luck" resided.

Their hopes were justified, for not a shot touched any of the foreigners' property. As the Chinese Christian Intelligencer remarked in May,

> How different this is from a dozen or more years ago when an excited populace led on by the hostile gentry sought to stone Mr. Little and Mr. Haden to death![84]

In all of the situations described in the preceding pages United

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[84] Lacy I. Moffett, "Strenuous Days," Bi-Monthly Bulletin, VIII (May-June, 1916), 804-07.

Anna M. Sykes, "Kiangyin Society Column," Missionary Survey, VII (July, 1917), 495.

Lacy L. Little, "Changes in China," Missionary Survey, X (April, 1920), 235.

"Revival and Evangelism," Chinese Christian Intelligencer, I (May, 1916), 71.

The riot referred to in the last quotation occurred in 1896.

States Protestant missionaries willingly lent their own, their missions', and their country's names to assist the Chinese around them. However, during the years 1911 to 1917 there were some instances when they were unwilling to countenance the actions of Chinese who claimed to be connected with them. Though they had succeeded before 1911 in making it plain that they would no longer enter the yamen for their adherents, their prestige was so great that some Chinese still sought ways of turning it to their own ends without the missionaries' knowledge. For example, during the looting of Chengtu by mutinous troops on the twelfth day after the provincial declaration of independence late in 1911, some of those who took refuge in one of the chapels went out to do a bit of plundering themselves.[85] At one outstation of the Chungking Methodist Episcopal mission small flags were sold to the inquirers for protection that winter.[86] At Swatow, Kwangtung, people made their own "foreign" flags to use during the period of the transfer from an imperial to a republican government, most of them taking the American flag as their pattern.[87] In Szechwan again, early in 1913 someone shipped two

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[85] American Baptist Foreign Mission Society files: J. Taylor, "West of the Yangtze Gorges," p. 159.

The text is not clear as to whether the chapel was American or British, but Taylor belonged to the American Baptist Missionary Union.

[86] Methodist Library, Biographical Files: Spencer Lewis diary, 1912, p. 287.

[87] Letter from Mrs. Jacob Speicher to author, April 7, 1956.

barrels in care of the American Baptists at Yachowfu; but since one of the churchmembers became highly suspicious when he saw who came to claim them, the Openshaws and Mrs. Anna M. Salquist took them to the customs inspector to be opened. They proved to be full of opium. The missionaries and the inspector came to an instant agreement that thereafter the foreigners would come immediately to the customs house to open any packages sent in their care.[88] Furthermore, that autumn several young men formerly connected with the Weihsien campus of Shantung Christian University used the university's name in their unsuccessful plea for clemency when convicted of plotting against the national government.[89] Some time later in a town twenty miles from Soochow a man whose neighbors had bricked up his front door because of his crimes attempted in vain to rent his house first to the Methodists and then to the Presbyterians as a chapel, so that the foreign missionary would have the entrance reopened.[90] The fact that the bandits of Kutienhsien, Fukien, let go unscathed all who could repeat the Ten Commandments or the Lord's Prayer, or who could display a hymnal, catechism, or Bible, brought the missionaries there a number of

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[88] Anna M. Salquist, "Opium in the Mails to Missionaries," West China Missionary News, XV (April, 1913), 10-11.

[89] Shantung Christian University Reports, 1913 (n. p.), p. 19.

[90] F. H. Throop, "Soochow Country Work," Central China Bi-Monthly, I (March-April, 1914), 23-25.

inquirers whose sole desire was the acquisition of the verbal or printed proofs of church connection.[91]

None of these uses of the Christian name met with the approval of United States Protestants, who took what steps they could to prevent recurrences. The "conflict of conscience" produced by their realization of the power that they as foreigners possessed, which as the last chapter pointed out led to the cessation of their use of treaty clauses to protect Chinese converts in civil disputes, was to be continued throughout the era of the mission compound's function as a refuge. Missionaries plunged unhesitatingly into the task of defending life and limb as warring armies surged over the plains and through the valleys in which they worked, drawing a line only at rendering assistance to transgressors of the Biblical prohibitions against killing and stealing. Moreover, though they recognized the danger of attracting thieves and robbers by permitting the storage of valuables, they did allow some items of value to enter with their owners. In Peking, Christians' possessions were allowed entrance to the American Board compound in November, 1911, and other refugees brought treasures as well,[92] but when the capital

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[91] "Kutien," China Christian Advocate, IV (June, 1917), 18. It will be recalled that the Huashan massacre of 1895 which occurred in the hsien or district of Kutien had resulted in the execution of over twice as many Chinese as the number of British subjects killed.

[92] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXV, No. 425a. Ibid., Vol. XXXVI, No. 522.

was sacked early in March, 1912, the Tungchow mission forbade the conspicuous bringing of belongings lest potential looters be tempted.[93] However, both in P'ang Chuang, Shantung, and in Sun-wu, Kiangsi,[94] members of the wealthier classes expected to bring their goods to a local mission when danger threatened. Chinese continued after 1912 to bring their possessions as well as themselves to mission-owned property for safety.[95] In one instance, a postmaster even entrusted the stamps from his office to a United States Protestant mission for safekeeping.[96]

During the first six years of republican China's history, then, United States Protestant missionaries, through their activities in sheltering and protecting Chinese both within and without their compounds, through the continuance of their government's efforts on their behalf, and through their services as peacemakers, continued to be recognized as persons able and willing to modify the effects upon Chinese of some

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[93] Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, No. 99.

[94] Ibid., Vol. XXXI, No. 171.
Bousfield, Sun-Wu Stories, p. 6.

[95] For example:
Another Year in the Kiangan Mission, 1913, pp. 7-9.
Report of the South China Mission of the American Presbyterian Church from July 1st, 1912, to March 31st, 1913 (Canton: China Baptist Publication Society, 1913), pp. 3-5.
J. M. B. Gill, "Shot and Shell in Nanking," Spirit of Missions, LXXVIII (December, 1913), 4.

[96] R. L. Torrey, "Tzechow during the Troublesome Times," West China Missionary News, XVIII (September, 1916), 21.

of the violence which marked the period. Despite the fact that they, like the Chinese, were increasingly subject to dangers which arose from the unsettled state of the country, they were less harassed by specifically anti-foreign activities than in preceding years. The use of mission compounds as havens or asylums when the recurring internecine wars for power came to a region had its real beginning in the revolutions and rebellions of 1911 to 1917. It reached its full development during the years immediately following, when battle after indecisive battle was fought between the rival governments and their allies for the control of China.

CHAPTER V

CIVIL WAR AND THE PRESTIGE OF MISSIONS, 1917-1923

The use of missions as asylums during civil strife reached its peak between 1917 and 1923. The wars of that period were not brief rebellions, but part of a general struggle between the Kuomintang and the Peking government for the control of China which lasted into 1928. Until 1923 neither side possessed the degree of unity necessary for complete victory; but in that year began the reorganization of the Kuomintang which was to enable it to extend its domain from Canton to Peking. During the years of futile battles from 1917 to 1923, United States Protestant missions were able to protect their neighbors because the combatants continued to uphold their inviolability. Open warfare began after Sun Yat-sen proclaimed the existence of the government at Canton in 1917. It then became necessary for the Peking administration to move against his forces if it were to maintain its claim to be the government of all China. From late 1917 through 1920 in Hunan and from 1918 through 1922 in Fukien warfare between the forces of the two rival governments ravaged the countryside. While the central struggle was between north and south, dissent within both northern and southern coalitions led in addition to battles within their respective

strongholds of Kwangtung and Chihli. In the north the fighting commenced in 1920, and spread after 1922 to the eastern and central provinces. In the south Sun Yat-sen had to contend not only with troops under the command of generals loyal to Peking but with dissident groups among his own supporters. He struggled with the latter throughout the period from the establishment of the Canton government in the autumn of 1917 to his final victory late in April of 1923 over those who had opposed what they regarded as the premature inception early in 1922 of his long-dreamed-of Northward Expedition. It is with that victory that the period covered by this chapter closes.

The frequency--one might even say regularity--with which United States Protestant mission compounds sheltered their fearful neighbors throughout those years was so great that if of all the records of the period only the missionaries' accounts of refuge given were to survive, it would be possible to reconstruct from them alone a descriptive outline of the campaigns of late 1917 to early 1923. For example, let us look at the activities of the former governor of Kwangtung, Lung Chi-kuang. He was one of the most formidable foes of the Canton government within its territory in the four southernmost provinces of China. He used the island of Hainan as his base during the two years between his expulsion from Canton in October, 1916, and his defeat on the island itself in November, 1918. After an unsuccessful mainland campaign begun by Lung in 1917 on behalf of the Peking government, the American

Presbyterians at Kachek gave shelter during the final struggles on the island to a large number of "uninvited refugees" when in July, 1918, the southern or Cantonese forces began to drive Lung's men out of town. The southerners stayed only a week at that time, however. Lung's returning forces sacked both the city and the surrounding villages, even entering the mission hospital and taking a jade bracelet from a wrist of a soldier-patient.[1] When the final surrender came in November at Kiunchow and Hoihow, many of the soldiers of the defeated party rushed for protection to the Presbyterians, who disarmed them,[2] and the townspeople fled to the compounds in droves during the few hours before the victorious commanders restored order by the summary execution of all who were found looting.[3] Two years later a brief flareup sent high and low to the compounds at Nodoa, where actual fighting took place late in August,[4] as well as to the mission buildings in Kiungchow when the danger seemed imminent in September and October.[5]

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[1]G. D. Byers, "The War on the Kachek Front," Hainan News Letter, November, 1918, pp. 13-15.

[2]M. M. Moninger, Isle of Palms (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1919), p. 109.

[3]W. V. Stinson, "Our Own Little War," Hainan News Letter, March, 1919, pp. 18-22.

[4]Idem, "A Wild East Show," Hainan News Letter, November, 1920, pp. 16-18.

[5]Grace P. Shannon, "Refugees in Kiungchow," Hainan News Letter, November, 1920, pp. 4-5.

On the mainland of Kwangtung, throughout the years of Sun's consolidation of his rule over the province, women and children went to mission enclosures whenever the contending northern and southern armies billeted themselves on the populace of Hopo, and twice one of the local clan heads felt it wise to secrete himself in a room in the house of American Baptist A. S. Adams.[6] During the battles between Kwangtung and Kwangsi troops which ended in the expulsion of the latter from Kwangtung late in 1920, many went in fear to the American Presbyterians when tension was highest at Sheklung on the route to Waichow, but the town's loss of life and property proved to be very small.[7] Lienchow, situated as it was on the highroad between Kwangtung and Kwangsi, changed hands frequently during the next three years, but the mission compound preserved many from the mistreatment usual for the innocent bystander in the wartorn areas of China during that period.[8] At Yeung Kong, to the southeast of Canton, hundreds of the daughters of "prominent families" joined the government girls' school

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[6] Letter from Mrs. A. S. Adams to author, April 3, 1956.

[7] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 26-2, 1921, Report of Evangelistic Work at Shek Lung Station.

[8] Ibid., 26-2, 1921, Report of Linchow Station.
Report of the Work of the South China Mission for the Year 1922-1923 (n. p.), p. 13.
Report of the Work of the South China Mission for the Year 1923-1924 (n. p.), p. 3.

during 1919, and twice the older women came.[9] In 1922 and 1923 the dispute between Sun and his former commander Ch'en Ch'iung-ming over the Northward Expedition isolated Yeung Kong for a time, and again the mission sheltered hundreds of its neighbors.[10] In the neighboring province of Kwangsi, the fear that Kweilin would fall to northern troops sent the women of the city to the Southern Baptists late in 1919,[11] and when Ch'en's successful attack on Wuchow in mid-1922 was followed by his conquest of Nanning, the families of the Christians there chose to live in and around the chapel for a time for safety.[12]

During the campaigns of 1917-20 along the Hankow-Canton railway through Hunan, a number of the United States Protestant missions of that province were in the thick of the fighting, and served not only the populace but at times the defeated soldiery as refuges. In Taohwalun, for example, thirty southern soldiers were popped into bed in the mission hospital as "wounded patients" only minutes ahead of the arrival of

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[9] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 26-2, 1919, Yeungkong Station Report.

[10] Report of the Work of the South China Mission for the Year 1922-1923, p. 9.

[11] "Difficulties Transformed to Advantage," Home and Foreign Fields, IV (May, 1920), 31.

[12] F. A. Christopherson, "Exciting Weeks at Nanning," South China Alliance Tidings, September-December, 1921, pp. 2-3.

their northern pursuers.[13] In Changsha the missionary body as a whole protected up to five thousand prisoners of war at a time,[14] while the Yale hospital just outside the city wall was used by many a general as a safe place in which to convalesce from some political disorder.[15] The armies of Peking entered Hunan in September, 1917, only to be driven northward during the early winter. During this opening campaign in the war between north and south, both the city chapel and the residence compound of the United Evangelical mission in Siangtan held hundreds of refugees.[16] On the northerners' return in January, 1918, they were met near Yochow by the southerners, and thousands of the women and children of the area fled to the various compounds of the Reformed Church in the United States mission in the vicinity. The victorious southerners, most of whom were from Kwangsi, looted the town as had the departed northerners. They even killed five or six of their wounded enemies in the mission hospital. When they were driven out again late in March almost the entire population of between ten and twenty thousand jammed itself into the mission compounds to avoid the wrath of the

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[13] Casper C. Skinsnes, Scalpel and Cross in Honan (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1952), p. 34.

[14] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 13-2, 1918, Changsha Station Report.

Letter from Alfred A. Gilman to author, March 23, 1956.

[15] Hume, Doctors East, Doctors West, pp. 252-53.

[16] "More about Political Disturbances on Our China Mission Field," Missionary Tidings, XXVII (February, 1918), 34-35.

departing vanquished.[17] In Changsha too the populace fled to mission and other foreign property as the northerners retreated, looting as they went.[18]

The southerners stationed at Liling, Hunan, were well-behaved. Their orderly withdrawal late in March, 1918, was in sharp contrast to the plundering indulged in by the northerners who entered almost on their heels, and which drove many to the mission compounds.[19] Later in the spring Liling changed hands twice within ten days. The missionaries at the hospital were able to save their northern patients from the tender mercies of some of the southerners, thanks to which the returning northerners were persuaded to leave the hospital and its inmates alone. However, the missionaries at the church compound a mile away in the city and those who had come to them for safety (some even climbing the walls in their haste) had a less easy time of it. This was because the northern troops, angered by their belief that some of the southerners had fired on them from one of the empty mission

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[17] "'Through Peril, Toil, and Pain,'" Outlook of Missions, X (May, 1918), 213-22.

W. S. Adams, "The Part of the Hospital in War," Outlook of Missions, X (June, 1918), 271.

[18] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 13-2, 1918, Changsha Station Report.

"Two Weeks in Changsha," News Items: Young Women's Christian Associations of China, IV (May, 1918), 3-5.

[19] A. E. Lehman, "From the War Zone in China," Missionary Messenger, XXXI (July, 1918), 12-13.

Idem, "From the War Zone in China," Missionary Tidings, XXVII (June, 1918), 128-31.

compounds, insisted on entering and searching the church and boys' school. United Evangelical missionary T. S. Knecht was shot in the leg when he objected. The occupants of the city compound then moved to the hospital. Two days later, after the destruction of much of the city compound by the northern troops, the missionaries and those in their charge left with the commander's assistance by special train for Changsha.[20] At Yuhsien to the southeast women and children came to the C. C. Talbotts of the same denomination as the northerners advanced during April; but the Talbotts themselves (together with members of three prominent families) departed in May after hearing of some of the recent happenings at Liling.[21] Many women also came to the day school at Chalingchow when parts of their homes were taken over for the use of troops.[22] In Chenchow, too, during the spring campaign women and children stayed with the missionaries,[23] as well as in

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[20] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930), pp. 99-101.

B. E. Niebel, "Recent Experiences in China," Missionary Tidings, XXVII (July, 1918), 150-52.

Thomas S. Knecht, "Experiences at the Rioting of Liling, China," Missionary Tidings, XXVII (August, 1918), 174-76.

[21] Mrs. Carrie W. Talbott, "'In Perils,'" Missionary Tidings, XXVII (September, 1918), 196-98.

[22] Theodore L. C. Suhr, "An Eventful Day," Missionary Tidings, XXVII (October, 1918), 223-24.

[23] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 13-2, 1918, Chenchow Station Report.

Changteh to the north and west.[24] In the autumn campaign the Siangtan American Presbyterian mission hospital's women's ward was crowded for the third time in a year with refugees.[25]

Almost two years later the northerners left Hunan. Those under Wu Pei-fu's command withdrew in such orderly fashion that at Hengchow no one bothered to go to the mission compounds.[26] The same could not be said of the troops of Chang Ching-yao, though. In Changsha the fear that they would burn the city when they left made many ask to sleep in mission-owned buildings,[27] and at Yochow they shot and killed W. A. Reimert at the gate of the mission college belonging to the Reformed Church in the United States. Despite their plundering of the college, however, the women and children in its chapel were unmolested; and at the city compound, where almost the entire populace had gathered, the three bands of would-be brigands which did enter were persuaded to leave without harming anyone.[28] The southern

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[24] Ibid., 13-2, 1918, Changteh Station Report.

[25] Ibid., 13-2, 1918, Siangtan Station Report.

[26] Ibid., 13-2, 1919, Hengchow Station Report.

[27] Letter from Deaconess Gertrude Stewart to author, March 20, 1956.

[28] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1920, I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935), 435-36, 806.

"The Escape of the Missionary Wives from Yochow," Outlook of Missions, XII (October, 1920), 430-31.

Allen R. Bartholomew, The Martyr of Huping (Philadelphia: Board of Missions of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1925), pp. 103, 141.

troops followed the northerners as they left, reaching Siangtan in July. The three American Presbyterian compounds there were crowded just before the city changed hands, but the relative quietness of the turnover encouraged most of the refugees to leave the same evening.[29] A year or more later, at Shenchow near the Kweichow border, civil war sent many to the mission there; but only the women and children were allowed to enter, for after the experiences of Liling and Yochow the mission of the Reformed Church in the United States had forbidden the sheltering of men in wartime.[30]

In Fukien province as in Hunan the struggle between northern and southern forces ranged to and fro along the waterways. During the summer of 1918 the attacks of the southerners on the garrison at Tung-an near Amoy meant that a number of Christians and others went to the mission compounds.[31] By September they had reached Hinghua, and during the several times that the city changed hands many of its women and children stayed with the Methodist Episcopal missionaries.[32] At

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[29] A. R. Kepler, "A Missionary under Fire," All the World, XVII (January, 1921), 35-37.

[30] "Terrible Famine Continues in Hunan Province amidst Civil War," Outlook of Missions, XIII (May, 1922), 223.

[31] K. R. Green, "From the Firing Line," Mission Field, XXXI (January, 1919), 511-13.

[32] Mrs. W. N. Brewster, "Working in Distracted Hinghua," China Christian Advocate, VI (April, 1919), 1-2.

nearby Inghok the governor of the district was among the thousand who stayed on the American Board compound, while other hundreds crowded that mission's country chapels.[33] Two months later in Inghok

> when the southerners actually advanced on the city the whole population fled as before an unquenchable conflagration, carrying not only their valuables but their cats and their chickens into the mission compounds. It is estimated that between four and five thousand became guests of the mission on that memorable eighth of December and Ingtai is accredited with only about eight thousand souls, so the schools, church, hospital and foreign residences did their bit that day. They did it again the following Sunday when the northern forces "came back."

The Foochow and Diongloh missions also prepared to serve as refuges in case of need.[34] Not until four years later, though, did the missionaries of northern Fukien again report the seeking of shelter. In October of 1922 the southerners began a drive up the Min towards Kiangsi. The second in command to one northern general hid for some days in one of the American Board's village churches near Foochow,[35] the women's school in Foochow was filled by its neighbors,[36] and at Inghok men, women, and children from the beggars to the officialdom of the region fled to the mission.[37] The southerners reached Shaowu, near the Kiangsi border, but were repulsed early in November by Kiangsi troops who held Shaowu until December 27th. At the first turnover the

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[33] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XV, No. 368.

[34] Ibid., Vol. XV, No. 241.

[35] Ibid., Vol. XIX, No. 43.

[36] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, No. 261.

[37] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, No. 261.
Ibid., Vol. XXI, No. 109.

looting propensities of the Kiangsi men sent many to the mission compounds,[38] and during their occupation the families left behind by several of the southern officers stayed safely with the missionaries in whose charge they had been placed.[39] However, when one of the northern hangers-on who had been guilty of various criminal as well as political offences asked for shelter at the second turnover, it was refused him.[40] When the northerners went through Inghok on their way toward Canton, the fear of impressment as load-bearers by the army meant that able-bodied men were among the first to flee to the mission.[41]

Meanwhile in the north, where the rivalries of the generals turned into active fighting during the summer of 1920, Miss Luella Miner in Peking helped to reorganize informally the Society for the Protection of Women and Children which she had been instrumental in setting up in 1911. Some two thousand registered with it for the privilege of staying in one of the ninety-nine places recognized as refuges. Early in July about half of them actually used their tickets of admission, including the families of one viceroy, the head of the National Museum, a number of lesser government officials, and military officers on both sides. There was even one aged and infirm general whose southern dialect had apparently misled someone into believing he was registering

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[38] American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. I, No. 250. Ibid., Vol. II, No. 287.

[39] Ibid., Vol. II, No. 288.

[40] Ibid., Vol. II, No. 289.

[41] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXVIII, Nos. 114, 115.

for his family rather than for himself but whose possession of a ticket entitling him to admission could not be gainsaid. In addition, a former candidate for premier stayed with G. D. Wilder of the American Board. In August others came,[42] both in Peking and in nearby Tungchow. The American Board academy just outside Tungchow was one of three buildings prepared by the local Red Cross as refuges for the women and children of the city, but the church in Tungchow itself also served as one during July. Besides, many of the Christians and their families spent some time on the academy compound. In all, the missionaries had as many as fifteen hundred staying with them.[43] Late in August, when Tungchow was looted by its garrison, many again went to the mission for safety.[44] At Changli near the Fengtien-Chihli border,[45] at Tientsin,[46] and at Paotingfu, the headquarters city of Tsao Kun,[47] a

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[42] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXVIII, Nos. 29, 30.
Ibid., Vol. XLI, No. 33.
Ibid., Vol. XLV, No. 3.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.13: Vol. III, Reports, No. 21.
Mrs. Chauncey Goodrich, "The Multitude at Our Doors," Life and Light, LI (February, 1921), 60-63.

[43] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXVIII, No. 113.
Ibid., Vol. XLIII, No. 434.
Ibid., Vol. XLVII, No. 282.

[44] Ibid., Vol. XLIII, No. 325.
Ibid., Vol. XLVII, No. 111.

[45] Cushman, Tientsin Scribbles, p. 144.

[46] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XLI, No. 33.

[47] Ibid., Vol. XLV, No. 466.

number came to ask for shelter in case of need. At Paotingfu many of the women and children of the city and surrounding villages did stay within the American Board mission, and in Shantung, at Tehchow, fully a thousand were accommodated by the mission compounds suring the last days of July.[48] When Chang Tso-lin's army again marched into Chihli in 1922, the church members were the first to come to the American Board compound at Tientsin, but others followed when the tension reached a climax early in May. Some even offered to pay for the privilege of staying. Several of the country chapels in that region also housed frightened women and children for a time.[49] In addition, some of the Chinese Methodists requested to be allowed to stay with their foreign pastors when the fear that Chang's troops would sack the Chinese city during their retreat was at its height.[50] In the Peking area, country churches sheltered many women and children from soldiers of both sides. At one, a number of merchants and for a brief

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[48] Ibid., Vol. XLIII, No. 79.
Ibid., Vol. XLVII, Nos. 396, 539.

[49] Ibid., Vol. XXXVIII, No. 46.
Ibid., Vol. XXXIX, No. 130.
Ibid., Vol. XLI, No. 151.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.13: Vol. V, Carolyn Sewall letters, No. 23.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.14: Vol. II, No. 620.

[50] Geraldine Townsend, "Tsunhua, the Epworth League, and Chang Tso-lin," China Christian Advocate, IX (June, 1922), 4-5.

time the chief of police stayed as well.[51] Though at Paotingfu the two thousand tickets given to prospective refugees by the American Board mission were not used,[52] at Kihsien, Honan, the Methodist Protestant mission station had over a hundred feminine guests when the troops defeated by Feng Yu-hsiang took possession of the city for a while in May.[53]

During the various campaigns outlined in the preceding pages, the province of Szechwan did not remain quiet. At the end of February, 1918, when a forcible change of governors made the political climate of Chengtu somewhat less favorable to Peking, hundreds flocked to the missions of that city.[54] Slightly over two years later during a Yunnanese attack on the city the campus of West China Union University outside the walls held another group of refugees.[55] At Suining to the east of Chengtu the disturbances of 1920 elevated four men to the post of mayor within three weeks. The first three fled to the mission upon being turned out, joining over three hundred men, women, and children who

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[51] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXVIII, No. 18. Ibid., Vol. XLVIII, No. 380.

[52] Ibid., Vol. XXXVIII, No. 4.

[53] M. O. Schlosser, "Ki Hsien in War Time," The Missionary Tidings, XXVI (August, 1922), 143-44.

[54] United Board for Christian Colleges in China files: West China, Box 25, Report of R. L. Simkin for the Year 1918.
"Chengtu," China Christian Advocate, V (May, 1918), 13.
Emma Inveen Upcraft, "Government Girls' Normal School," West China Missionary News, XX (August, 1918), 39.

[55] Methodist Library, Biographical Files: Spencer Lewis diary, 1920, p. 150.

stayed in the compound for a month.[56]

Elsewhere in China local hostilities and brigandage sent other hundreds to mission-owned buildings during the period 1917 to 1923. At Sanshui, Shensi, in January, 1918, Miss Christine Villadsen was killed by the robbers from whom she attempted to protect the refugees in her compound.[57] However, at Chaocheng, Shantung, the Nazarene mission housed safely a number of women who had fled the bandits of the country districts.[58] Near Shaowu, Fukien, early in 1919 the church members hurried to one village chapel when bandits arrived, feeling doubly reassured by the presence of a missionary who had stopped there for the night on his tour of the Shaowu outstations.[59] In 1921 at Tsingkiangpu, Kiangsu, the local general dared not arrest a mission hospital patient who was suspected of banditry without asking the Southern Presbyterian doctor's permission.[60] To the north at Pingting-chow, Shansi, many of the non-combatants fled to the mission there when the donkey drivers' guild fought the miners' guild because the

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[56]B. F. Lawrence, "Exciting Times in West China," China Christian Advocate, VII (August, 1920), 6.

[57]"Miss Christine Villadsen," Chinese Recorder, XLIX (March, 1918), 189.

[58]Hinshaw, Messengers of the Cross in China, p. 20.

[59]American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. II, No. 280.

[60]Nelson Bell, "Two Incidents Showing the Worth-While of Medical Missions," Missionary Survey, XI (December, 1921), 943-44.

members of the former wished to lower the price of coal at the mine.[61] To the west at Batang, Szechwan, an attempt of the Tibetans to drive out the Chinese garrison brought others to the Foreign Christian Missionary Society buildings in June, 1920.[62] In Kweichow, fearing a possible robber invasion, a number of the people of Tungjen asked permission to stay with the E. H. Brunemaiers.[63] Early in the following August a brief uprising by the Kiukiang, Kiangsi, garrison frightened many into going to the missions there till the looting and burning was over.[64]

United States Protestants continued and expanded between 1917 and 1923 the role which they had been exercising as guardians of Chinese who were neither permanent nor temporary residents within their enclosures and whose life or liberty was jeopardized by Chinese soldiers. All over China their relationship to the United States enabled missionaries to assist Chinese outside the mission compounds who were in danger of being taken from their homes and families. Frequently it was impressment for manual labor that Chinese men wished to avoid. Once conscripted by the armies, they might not be released for months.

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[61] Letter from J. Calvin Bright to author, September 29, 1956.

[62] J. C. Ogden, "Civil War at Batang," World Call, N.S. II (November, 1920), 11.

[63] "At Tungjen, China," Missionary Messenger, XXXIV (June, 1922), 5.

[64] "Kiukiang," China Christian Advocate, IX (September, 1922), 15.

Even when freed they were likely to find themselves hundreds of miles from home with no resources on which to draw, for ordinarily the only return they received for their forced service was the bare minimum of food required to keep them alive. However, in other situations too missionaries from Kwangtung to Shansi succeeded in helping their Chinese acquaintances.[65]

On Hainan in 1920 the soldiers holding Kachek took away the carpenters then working on the mission buildings there because they could find no other men to carry their burdens. The missionary in charge was able to have them released because they were working for American citizens. Thereafter a United States flag hung over the entrance to the church.[66] Another American Presbyterian of Kachek succeeded in taking thirty-two high school pupils from southeastern Hainan to Kiungchow through the lines of the opposing forces, though they were stopped three times.[67] On the mainland the American Baptists of Chaochowfu were

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[65] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XVI, No. 201.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.14: Vol. II, No. 380.
Hainan Mission Minutes, 1923 (n.p.), p. 1.
"Letter from Mrs. E. P. Burtt," The Evangel, XII (January-February, 1919), 2.
M. R. Melrose, "Persecution of Christians," Hainan News Letter, November, 1919, pp. 17-18.
Loose Leaves from Missionaries' Diaries, No. 8 (Foochow, 1920), p. 1.
Anne Kentfield, "A True Story of Fragrant Flower," Foochow Messenger, I (June, 1922), 2-4.

[66] N. Bercovitz, "The Kachek Church Building," Hainan News Letter, November, 1920, p. 8.

[67] K. L. Shaeffer, "An Unusual Trip," Hainan News Letter, November, 1920, pp. 14-15.

able in 1917 to save a Cantonese from death as a suspected espionage agent,[68] and the following May a member of the provincial legislature left Siu Lam with a United States Protestant as escort just before a disaffected army officer returned to town with his troops.[69] Early in June when the northern forces were about to enter Ungkung after five months of fighting, many of its people asked H. W. Newman of the American Baptists for his card as a protection against them. He refused, but did write to the northern commander protesting against the plundering done by the victorious troops.[70] When the progressive governor of Hunan was replaced at Peking's orders in 1917, after spending a few days with E. H. Hume he was escorted by one of the short-term Yale-in-China instructors to Hankow so that he could safely board a British steamer for Shanghai.[71] In March of 1918, when the northerners in Hunan took Liling for the second time, one of the churchmembers asked a United Evangelical representative to go to the northern commander for him and explain that the prisoners who had escaped through his house had done so by digging through the wall separating it from the

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[68] Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1918 (New York: American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1918), pp. 122-23.

[69] Frank Oldt, "Siu Lam Has Corner-Stone Laid under Difficulties," Evangel, XXXVII (October, 1918), 333.

[70] H. W. Newman, "At the Mercy of a Mob," Missions, IX (October, 1918), 708-10.

[71] Hume, Doctors East, Doctors West, pp. 232-37.

prison.[72] Another member's brother, a former southern soldier, also came to the missionary, but he would do no more than walk with the man far enough out into the countryside so that he could escape safely.[73] Six weeks later at Chalingchow a second United Evangelical missionary saw to it that the soldier caught looting an evangelist's house was punished, and politely eased a group of gambling soldiers out of the house of one of the churchmembers.[74] At Yenping, Fukien, the city magistrate persuaded Miss M. C. Hartford--one of the two survivors at the time of the Huashan massacre twenty-three years before--to stay there rather than go to the Methodist annual conference, because of the protection she would be able to give to the people of the city.[75] In the Shaowu region the Christians used badges of membership to protect themselves from conscription by the armies.[76] In 1919, too, the Methodist Episcopal missionaries at Yenping were able to release their boatmen, milkman, and head contractor from the hands of troops seeking manual laborers, though once they had to threaten to telegraph the consul.[77]

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[72] A. E. Lehman, "From the War Zone in China," Missionary Messenger, XXXI (July, 1918), 13.

[73] Idem, "From the War Zone in China," Missionary Tidings, XXVII (June, 1918), 131.

[74] Theodore L. C. Suhr, "An Eventful Day," Missionary Tidings, XXVII (October, 1918), 223-24.

[75] "Yenping," China Christian Advocate, VI (January, 1919), 19.

[76] American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. I, No. 92.

[77] "Yenping," China Christian Advocate, VI (June, 1919), 23.

Two years later, the United States consul at Foochow and four members of the Methodist Episcopal mission interviewed the governor of Fukien on behalf of a Chinese Methodist district superintendent imprisoned by a northern general.[78] Among American Board missionaries in northern Fukien, the G. H. Hubbards' gateman was able in October, 1922, to escape being taken for forced labor by soldiers in Foochow by displaying to them one of W. L. Beard's cards,[79] and during November and December R. L. McClure wrote that the northerners in Shaowu would even release captives at their request.[80] At Inghok that autumn E. H. Smith accompanied fifty men who reluctantly agreed to carry loads for the northern army as far as Sienyu in order to see that they were released from service there, as promised. The band returned to Inghok carrying "a white flag at our head announcing who and what we were--and Old Glory also."[81] In Foochow during January, 1923, when the southerners were preparing to leave, W. L. Beard and L. J. Christian took turns at accompanying the college cooks on their daily shopping trips to protect them from impressment.[82] As P. S.

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[78] W. B. Cole, "Yungchun under Trial," Hinghwa, IV (October, 1921), 1-2.
"The Yungchun Persecution," Hinghwa, V (April, 1922), 7.

[79] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XXI, No. 350.

[80] American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. II, No. 288.

[81] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XXI, No. 115.

[82] Ibid., Vol. XIX, No. 44.

Goertz of the same station wrote,

> The only people who get any consideration are those working for the Americans and Europeans. Great numbers fraudulently use our names with the hope of securing safety. House after house claims to be the property of the American Board. . . . All masons and carpenters building schools, houses and hospitals wear their badges with the signature of someone in our group. Mr. Topping and I were on our way into the country when men were fleeing from the villages to escape the soldier's hand. They were only too glad to take loads from our shoulders and carry them for us free in order they might say when met by soldiers that they were doing our work. A woman working in our compound was much afraid her husband might suddenly be taken. She asked whether he might have a place in basement for a few days. We agreed. But then arose the question how he could get here without being caught on his way over. I promised to call for him at night. . . . A Chinese with me called to the dark house. No answer. . . . Not until I spoke myself did they stir. But as soon as it was known that I was there they came out to me from various directions. Where I expected to have one to follow me into our compound there were nine with their bedding on their shoulders.[83]

Meanwhile in north China, a Methodist Episcopal missionary at Shanhaikuan, Chihli, was able to save the life of one of the military commanders.[84] In Peking when the first of the student strikes that were to mark China's political history thereafter occurred on May 4th, 1919, Mrs. Chauncey Goodrich of the American Board went with several women students to the United States minister on behalf of the movement's arrested leader. He telephoned the Board of War to inquire, and was told that the prisoner was safe. The young man was released the next

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[83] Ibid., Vol. XX, No. 68.

[84] Department of News Releases of the Methodist Church: F. M. Pyke, "Dr. and Mrs. J. L. Keeler Gave Twenty-Five Years to China" (manuscript, 1928).

day.[85] The following year during a period of fighting in Szechwan American Baptist D. C. Graham of Suifu acted as an escort for students,[86] and in May of 1922, a Free Methodist representative wrote to Wu Pei-fu's victorious general, Feng Yu-hsiang, on behalf of the city official at the recently-captured city of Kihsien, Honan.[87]

United States Protestant missionaries during the years 1917 to 1923 also continued to serve Chinese outside their compounds by acting as mediators either between opposing forces or between a town and its conquerors. From 1917 to 1920 they were warned by their consuls that they did so entirely at their own peril,[88] so that they knew they could not expect any consular backing if they encountered difficulties in the course of their negotiations. However, they undertook the risks involved despite the cutting-off of any hopes they might have entertained in previous years for the protection of the United States government in their efforts as peacemakers. At Chaochowfu, Kwangtung, American Baptists negotiated for the city's safety in 1917 and 1920.[89] Though an

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[85] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXIII, No. 231.

[86] Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1921 (New York: American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1921), p. 139.

[87] M. O. Schlosser, "Ki Hsien in War Time," The Missionary Tidings, XXVI (August, 1922), 143-44.

[88] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1920, I, 807-10. Letter from D. C. Graham to author, March 23, 1956.

[89] Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission

American Presbyterian's efforts at Yeung Kong during the autumn of 1920 largely averted hostilities, they did not prevent the capture of one leader by his opponent after peace had been concluded. The captive insisted that the missionary accompany him to Canton to ensure his safe arrival there.[90] In Hunan, United Evangelical missionaries were able to persuade the departing southern forces in March, 1918, not to loot Liling, but they met with less success in their similar endeavors with the entering northerners.[91] A Mennonite Baptist at Shanghang in the interior of Fukien was asked to be the negotiator for three changes of government during 1919 and 1920.[92] Moreover, H. R. Caldwell received a commission from the military official of the province to conciliate those forced into brigandage by famine in the Yuki region. Because of their willingness to trust his word he was able to talk a number

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Society, 1921, p. 135.

"Missionary News," Chinese Recorder, XLIX (September, 1918), 625.

"Missionary News," Chinese Recorder, LII (September, 1921), 651.

Ben L. Baker, "Historical Sketch of Baptist Mission, Chaochowfu," New East, XVI (April-May, 1921), 7-8.

[90] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1920, I, 808-09.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 26-2, 1921, Report of the Yeungkong Station.

[91] A. E. Lehman, "From the War Zone in China," Missionary Messenger, XXXI (July, 1918), 12-13.

Idem, "From the War Zone in China," Missionary Tidings, XXVII (June, 1918), 128-31.

[92] F. J. Wiens, "Budget of News from Shonghong," New East, XIV (April-May, 1920), 22.

of them into surrendering,[93] To the north, in Honan, the Southern Baptists of Kweiteh in May, 1920, failed to win any promises of safe-conduct for the vanquished from Feng Yu-hsiang's victorious commander,[94] but two years later a Free Methodist convinced Feng's defeated opponents at Kihsien that it was better to lay down their arms and receive twenty dollars in silver apiece than to loot the town,[95] and in Shansi two of the single ladies of the American Board averted a bandit raid on one of the towns in the Fenchow district.[96]

Throughout the years 1917 to 1923, United States Protestant missions were able to assist those who came to them in almost every instance. As yet, circumstances had led relatively few missionaries to make it a rule not to permit men to enter their compounds for safety.[97] Those who refused to allow into their enclosures belongings beyond the bare necessities of food, clothes, and bedding were slightly more numerous.[98] Others placed somewhat less restrictive limitations, lest as

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[93]Caldwell, Blue Tiger, pp. 156-230.

[94]S. J. Townshend, "The Looting of Kweiteh, China," Home and Foreign Fields, VI (September, 1920), 28.

[95]M. O. Schlosser, "Ki Hsien in War Time," The Missionary Tidings, XXVI (August, 1922), 143-44.

[96]American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XLV, No. 10.

[97]"Terrible Famine Continues in Hunan Province amidst Civil War," Outlook of Missions, XIII (May, 1922), 223.

[98]"Chengtu," China Christian Advocate, V (May, 1918), 13. "Mintsing, Fukien," China Christian Advocate, V (November,

D. S. Tappan of the American Presbyterian boys' school at Kachek, Hainan, put it. "by making our compound a junk shop we invite robbers and endanger mission property."[99] However, there were still quite a number who could have written as did the American Board group in Foochow,

> Where there was available space--space that could not be utilized for the protection of human life--it was loaned to the Chinese friends for the protection of their property. It is impossible to estimate the value of the property thus protected for the Chinaman is usually his own banker.[100]

It is apparent that the policy of various missions in the different provinces with respect to the entry of valuables was not by any means uniform during this period, although all accepted the role of protectors of life and limb thrust upon them by the Chinese because of their treaty-safeguarded position.

1918), 12.

"Review of the Year," Kochow Station Bi-Monthly, No. 78 (October, 1918), pp. 3-4.

F. A. Christopherson, "Exciting Weeks at Nanning," South China Alliance Tidings, September-December, 1921, p. 2.

"At Tungjen, China," Missionary Messenger, XXIV (June, 1922), 5.

"More about Political Disturbances on Our China Mission Field," Missionary Tidings, XXVII (February, 1918), 34-35.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XLVII, No. 539.

D. S. Tappan, "The McCormick School in War Time," Hainan News Letter, November, 1918, pp. 19-20.

Grace P. Shannon, "Refugees in Kiungchow," Hainan News Letter, November, 1920, pp. 4-5.

[100] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XV, No. 241.
See also:
Ibid., Vol. XV, No. 500.
Ibid., Vol. XXI, No. 109.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. II, No. 280.

United States Protestants realized that it was their nationality which enabled them to preserve Chinese from assault. Many of them in the early stages of the civil war felt with the author of a Foochow report letter for 1919 that

> it is a matter for profound thanksgiving and obligation that the church of Christ which was so cordially despised less than a score of years ago is today the one stable institution to which high and low rich and poor alike go for the protection of life and property;[101]

but by 1923 the "conflict of conscience" with respect to the use of their treaty-granted privileges had reappeared. This time it was not a question of the missionary's going to a magistrate on behalf of a few Christians, though. It was a matter of all sorts of Chinese coming to him for safety in wartime. As early as 1910 the inviolability of the mission compound was regretted by a missionary near Peking who wrote,

> Recently a warrant was issued for the arrest of one of our members who lives inside our wire fence at the instance of the official priest, "Seng kuan," for this vicinity. He avoided arrest simply by staying at home and we learned that the yamen runners would not dare to arrest him in the "foreign" enclosure. The matter was settled justly without coming into court, but we regret the immunity from arrest on our premises because of the conception underlying it. We fear that the members rather enjoy it however.[102]

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 26-2, 1921, Report of Evangelistic Work for Shek Lung Station.

Letter from Mrs. A. S. Adams to author, April 3, 1956.

"Missionary News," Chinese Recorder, XLIX (January, 1918), 69.

W. V. Stinson, "A Wild East Show," Hainan News Letter, November, 1920, pp. 16-18.

[101] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XV, No. 241.

[102] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXI, No. 298.

By the final months of the period covered by this chapter P. S. Goertz articulated the half-formed doubt which had arisen in the minds of a number of his fellow-missionaries of all denominations when he closed his description of what he had been doing to save Chinese men from being conscripted as load-bearers by the competing armies with this sentence:

> It would be wrong for us to interfere with the work of a foreign government if it were a government, but the men in power are nothing but ruthless oppressors.[103]

However, most of Goertz's contemporaries would have answered the question of how their preservation of non-combatants in internecine strife might affect the outcome of the struggle as he himself did, with the statement that what they were doing was simple humanitarianism rather than interference with the workings of any government. They refused to harbor criminals.[104] For the practical purpose of preserving women and children from army searching parties, they set aside buildings in which the sheltering of men was prohibited.[105] Not until

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[103] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XX, No. 68.

[104] For example:
American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. II, No. 289.

[105] For example:
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXVIII, No. 29.
Ibid., Vol. XLI, No. 33.
Ibid., Vol. XLV, No. 3.
Mrs. Chauncey Goodrich, "The Multitude at Our Doors," Life and Light, LI (February, 1921), 60-63.
"Terrible Famine Continues in Hunan Province amidst Civil War," Outlook of Missions, XIII (May, 1922), 223.

after 1923, however, did they begin to consider refusing to raise the flag of the United States over their compounds in wartime for the purpose of establishing a refuge. They did not, of course, grant such requests as those made to two American Board missionaries at Tientsin that signs be given Chinese-owned houses saying "Great America's Christian Church";[106] but during the years from 1917 to 1923 the use of the American flag on mission properties was widespread. At Swatow its display was often requested by the people of the city.[107] At Siu Lam the sight of it deterred an attacking general from using heavy artillery lest the shells destroy the foreign buildings.[108] At Yeung Kong it was reinforced by the visit of a United States gunboat during the fighting in November, 1920.[109] In Foochow it flew over the American Board girls' school in 1922,[110] but in Siangtan, Hunan, soldiers of the northern forces tore it down and destroyed it during their entry into the province

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[106] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XV, No. 368.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXV, No. 358.
Ibid., Vol. XLI, No. 39.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.14: Vol. II, No. 620.
"More about Political Disturbances on Our China Field," Missionary Tidings, XXVII (February, 1918), 34.

[107] Letter from Mrs. Jacob Speicher to author, April 7, 1956.

[108] Frank Oldt, "Siu Lam Has Corner-Stone Laid under Difficulties," Evangel, XXXVII (October, 1918), 333.

[109] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 26-2, 1921, Report of the Yeungkong Station.

[110] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XVII, No. 261.

in the autumn of 1917.[111] In the north, the flag of the United States waved over the church at Tehchow, Shantung, in 1920,[112] and over all the American Board property in the Tientsin area both then and in 1922 in the expectation that it would make of each of the compounds displaying it a refuge for the women and children of the neighborhood.[113] At Paotingfu, too, in 1922 a United States flag was sent to each of the outstation properties, for it was "to these country people a piece of magic and they flocked to it like moths to a lamp."[114]

United States Protestant missionaries throughout the period 1917 to 1923 were able to assist their Chinese friends and neighbors in the difficulties resulting both from factional struggles and from local conflicts. Their own safety, however, was diminishing to some extent, as was graphically illustrated in 1918 by the death of Miss Villadsen in Shensi, followed closely by the wounding of T. S. Knecht in Hunan and two years later by the killing of W. A. Reimert in the same province. It was true that in every region of China United States Protestant missionaries continued to receive special consideration at the hands of

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[111] "More about Political Disturbances on Our China Field," Missionary Tidings, XXVII (February, 1918), 34.

[112] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XLVII, No. 539.

[113] Ibid., Vol. XXXVIII, No. 46.
Ibid., Vol. XLI, Nos. 33, 39.

[114] Ibid., Vol. XXXVIII, No. 4.

soldiers and of brigands. Pirates, sentries, and government inspectors let them pass almost unquestioned,[115] and several times they were given escorts ranging in size from seven to a hundred armed men.[116] The degree of respect accorded to missionaries was extended

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[115] American Baptist Foreign Mission Society files: 291 (C-18207), D. C. Graham, February 27, 1921.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. II, Nos. 280, 288.

Letters from J. E. Skinner to author, September 4 and 19, 1956.

"Miss Hartford Captured by Bandits," China Christian Advocate, VI (January, 1920), 6.

"The Repentant Bandit and the Lone Missionary," China Christian Advocate, VII (April, 1920), 12-13.

B. F. Lawrence, "Exciting Times in West China," China Christian Advocate, VII (August, 1920), 6.

A. R. Kepler, "A Missionary under Fire," All the World, XVII (January, 1921), 36.

A. D. Cook, "Interesting Days in China," The Evangel, XL (March, 1921), 87-88.

J. Meadows, "Providences that Worked Together for Good," Home and Foreign Fields, V (March, 1921), 30.

Mrs. Carrie W. Talbott, "'In Perils,'" Missionary Tidings, XXVII (September, 1918), 197-98.

Cora F. Hobein, "Traveling in China," Missionary Tidings, XXXI (February, 1922), 40-41.

J. C. Jensen, "In Perils of Robbers," Missions, X (June, 1919), 452.

"The Escape of the Missionary Wives from Yochow," Outlook of Missions, XII (October, 1920), 430.

Mrs. Cecil Troxel and Mrs. John J. Trachsel, Cecil Troxel: The Man and the Work (Chicago: National Holiness Missionary Society, 1948), pp. 155-56.

[116] Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1923 (New York: American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1923), p. 162.

W. H. Oldfield, "In the Wilds of Kwangsi," South China Alliance Tidings, September-October, 1918, pp. 7-10.

Mrs. Carrie W. Talbott, "'In Perils,'" Missionary Tidings, XXVII (September, 1918), 197-98.

Miss Blanche Rose Walker, "Kept by the Power of God,"

to the buildings owned by their societies. From Kwangtung to Chihli, missionaries noted the freedom of mission enclosures from molestation by soldiers, whether by a commander's orders or because of their own presence.[117] Robbers, too, avoided mission-owned buildings.[118] However, in the general breakdown of law and order which naturally accompanied the spread of civil war, missionaries found themselves

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Home and Foreign Fields, IV (July, 1920), 27-28.

"Returning from Annual Mission Meeting, Yochow Missionaries Encounter Robbers," Outlook of Missions, XIII (October, 1921), 466-67.

B. C. Patterson, "Work around Sutsien," Missionary Survey, XII (April, 1922), 292.

[117] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XV, No. 517.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 26-2, 1921, Report of Evangelistic Work for Shek Lung Station.

Report of the Work of the South China Mission for the Year 1922-1923, p. 13.

W. V. Stinson, "A Wild East Show," Hainan News Letter, November, 1920, pp. 17-18.

F. A. Christopherson, "Exciting Weeks at Nanning," South China Alliance Tidings, September-December, 1921, pp. 2-3.

B. M. Tonkin, "Through the Fiery Furnace," South China Alliance Tidings, January-March, 1922, pp. 14-15.

"Tang-Yuen," South China Alliance Tidings, May-June, 1923, p. 9.

"War and the Innocent Bystander," China Christian Advocate, IX (June, 1922), 19.

"Kiukiang," China Christian Advocate, IX (September, 1922), 15.

Fred R. Brown, "War Conditions in Kiangsi Province," China Christian Advocate, IX (October, 1922), 7.

[118] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 20-2, 1918, Tenghsien Station Report.

"Yenping," China Christian Advocate, V (November, 1918), 14.

Mary E. Boyer, "Sha Ho Tien Station Report," Echoes from Inland China, II (July-October, 1922), 5.

W. H. Oldfield, "Two Hundred Miles of Miracles," Chinese Recorder, LIV (February, 1923), 92.

and their property increasingly subjected to the same treatment as the Chinese around them. Sometimes they were roughly handled by mistake, as when the people of a hamlet in Fukien recently pillaged by men dressed in western clothing bound one missionary and beat him till two passers-by informed them that he was really a foreigner[119] or when in the same province another was shot in the leg by men who insisted that he was a northern general.[120] Usually, though, if they were robbed it was simply along with their Chinese traveling companions.[121] In fact, two of the violent deaths of United States Protestant missionaries during the years 1917 to 1923 were in a sense accidental, insofar as they would have occurred to a Chinese who happened to be in the same place at the same time.[122] Mission properties, too, might be treated by

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[119] "In Perils of Robbers," Yenping Pagoda Herald, June, 1918, p. 8.

[120] "Reverend Frank Eckerson," Mission Field, XXXI (September, 1918), 263-64.

[121] American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. I, No. 186.
The South China Baptist Annual, 1919 (n. p., 1920), p. 30.
Minutes of the South China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1920, II (n. p.), 26-27.
Dr. and Mrs. H. M. McCandliss, "Bandits and Robbers," All the World, XVIII (January, 1922), 31-32.
W. H. Oldfield, "In the Hands of Chinese Robbers," South China Alliance Tidings, January-March, 1922, pp. 15-18.
Kristofer N. Tvedt, In Captivity, trans. Mrs. Mina Hellestad (Minneapolis: The Lund Press, 1937), p. 140.

[122] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1922, I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938), 860-64.
"News on Dr. Logan and Feng Yu-hsiang," Chinese Christian Intelligencer, II (March, 1920), 9.
Flora B. Shelton, Shelton of Tibet (New York: 1923), pp. 283-88.

soldiers and robbers in much the same way as Chinese-owned buildings.[123] Southerners on Hainan[124] and other soldiers in Kiangsu[125] and Fukien slept in chapels, in part because as J. E. Skinner of Fukien remarked, "Our churches were often the only decent place the men

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[123] American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. III, No. 129.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 14-2, 1918, Evangelistic Report of Kachek Station.

Ibid., 26-2, 1921, Report of Evangelistic Work for Shek Lung Station.

Ibid., 26-2, 1921, Report regarding the Evangelistic Work in the Sz Yap District.

"Taianfu," China Christian Advocate, V (November, 1918), 13.

Elwyn C. Parlin, "The Cross in Robin Hood Tehwa," China Christian Advocate, IX (April, 1922), 4-5.

"War and the Innocent Bystander," China Christian Advocate, IX (June, 1922), 19.

Wilbur M. Campbell, "Country Evangelistic Work in Kiungchow Station," Hainan News Letter, June, 1921, p. 18.

"The Yungchun Persecution," Hinghwa, V (April, 1922), 7.

B. M. Tonkin, "Through the Fiery Furnace," South China Alliance Tidings, January-March, 1922, p. 14.

"Editorial," South China Alliance Tidings, April-May, 1922, p. 1.

F. K. Heinrichsohn, "Working under Difficulties at Yochow," Outlook of Missions, XIII (January, 1921), 34.

Thomas S. Knecht, "Experiences at the Rioting of Liling, China," Missionary Tidings, XXVII (August, 1918), 174-76.

Wilson Fielder, "Persecuted for Righteousness' Sake," Home and Foreign Fields, IV (August, 1920), 25.

"Conditions at Tungjen," Evangelical Missionary World, I (June, 1923), 205.

Skinsnes, Scalpel and Cross in Honan, p. 68.

[124] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 14-2, 1918, Nodoa Evangelistic Report.

[125] M. L. Sloan, "My First Itinerating Trip," Missionary Survey, XIII (April, 1923), 291-92.

could find with a nice clean floor on which to sleep!!"[126]

Despite the respect still accorded United States Protestant missionaries, however, the position which they held as Western nationals diminished during the period covered by this chapter. At times they were even less safe than the Chinese around them, a condition which had not obtained since the pre-1911 days of anti-foreign riots. It might be because the foreigner stood between a soldier or outlaw and something he wanted, because some specific reason for resentment against foreigners influenced the actions of those attacking them, or because it was felt desirable to hold foreign nationals as pawns in some type of struggle for power or position. Miss Villadsen was killed as she attempted to shield those who had come to the mission at Sanshui, Shensi, when robbers sacked the city in January, 1918, though not long before a band of them had let her go unmolested when she was traveling.[127] However, at Liling, Hunan, in May of that year the northern soldiers' nerves were frayed by a succession of advances and retreats. Moreover, they believed that it was the foreigners rather than their officers who had halted the latest retreat (by spoiling the railroad engines), and that the missionaries had permitted southerners to use an unoccupied mission compound as a sniper's outpost. The looting by the northerners of the city compounds and even of one house connected with the hospital

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[126]Letter from J. E. Skinner to author, September 19, 1956.

[127]Jessie G. Gregg, "Three Thousand Miles of Evangelistic Work," China's Millions, April, 1918, p. 57.
"Miss Christine Villadsen," Chinese Recorder, XLIX (March, 1918), 189.

in which northern wounded were being treated, and the wounding of T. S. Knecht, resulted.[128] When American Baptist H. W. Newman was assaulted by northern troops at Ungking, Kwangtung, in June of 1918, it was the day after four of their number had been beaten for the looting of Chinese houses about which he had complained to their commander. In addition, Newman was in the act of requesting them to leave the house they were then in the process of ransacking.[129] The death of W. A. Reimert of Yochow, Hunan, two years later, came when he refused to let northern troops seeking food enter the college compound outside the city on the lake shore, although on the preceding day some had been permitted to use its dock in order to land.[130]

The involvement of foreign missionaries in a struggle for recognition on the part of a group of Chinese who were temporarily at least outside of the law was not new in 1918. In 1913, when Consul John Fowler at Foochow was negotiating the safe return of the Methodist Episcopal missionaries to Hinghua, it was with difficulty that he

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[128] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918, pp. 99-101.
B. E. Niebel, "Recent Experiences in China," Missionary Tidings, XXVII (July, 1918), 150-52.
Thomas S. Knecht, "Experiences at the Rioting of Liling, China," Missionary Tidings, XXVII (August, 1918), 174-76.

[129] H. W. Newman, "At the Mercy of a Mob," Missions, IX (October, 1918), 708-10.

[130] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1920, I, 435-36, 806.
"The Escape of the Missionary Wives from Yochow," Outlook of Missions, XII (October, 1920), 430-31.
Bartholomew, The Martyr of Huping.

succeeded in having their attackers punished, rather than bought off with both money and government position.[131] Three years later a member of the Canadian Methodist mission in Szechwan was kidnapped by a band of men who had served as troops under the recently expelled governor of the province and wished to use the missionary's safety as a means of forcing the new administration to retain their services. Shortly after his release they were taken back into the army.[132] Moreover, early in 1918, two German ladies of the China Inland Mission were wounded by a man one of whose motives was reported to be to cause trouble for officials in western Hunan.[133] The two leading examples of the use of the safety of United States Protestants as a means of gaining power or position during the period covered by this chapter, though, were the early 1920 kidnapping of A. L. Shelton of the Foreign Christian Missionary Society and two China Inland Mission representatives in Yunnan and the late 1922 seizure of American Lutherans Anton Lundeen, C. O. Forsberg, and Einar Borg-Breen, together with several non-Americans, in the Honan-Anhwei border region. Shelton's captor, Yang Tien-fu, was the head of a band of soldiers who had taken

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[131] F. S. Carson, "The Hinghwa Situation," China Christian Advocate, I (February, 1914), 5.

[132] E. W. Wallace, "An Experience with Robbers," West China Missionary News, XVIII (August, 1916), 22-28.

[133] James Stark, "Our Shanghai Letter," China's Millions, May, 1918, p. 75.

to brigandage after their pay had not been forthcoming for five months but now wished to rejoin the army. Yang was not aware of Shelton's nationality, and at first believed him to be German. This may have influenced his later capture of C. G. Gowman and G. W. Metcalf, since Germans had lost their special privileges in China after China's entry into World War One in 1917. Shelton escaped when his guards scattered at the news of a government official's arrival to investigate the kidnapping of Gowman and Metcalf.[134] Forsberg, Lundeen, Borg-Breen and his young son, and seven other foreigners including four China Inland Mission members, an Italian priest, and two railroad men fell into the hands of former allies of Chang Tso-lin who had been dispersed by Feng Yu-hsiang in the intra-northern struggle of the spring. These men were more successful than Yang Tien-fu both in retaining their prisoners and in achieving their main goal of readmittance into the army. Before Lundeen reached Hankow on December 11th, 1922,[135] most of them had been accepted as soldiers by the general whom Chang's

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[134] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1920, I, 793-803.
James Stark, "The Robber Attack at Taku," China's Millions, May, 1920, pp. 77-78.
C. G. Gowman, "How Captured Workers Were Delivered from Robbers," China's Millions, July, 1920, p. 104.
E. I. Osgood, "Dr. Shelton's Captivity and Escape," World Call, N. S. II (August, 1921), 52.
"The End of Dr. Shelton's Captor," World Call, N. S. III (August, 1921), 52.
Shelton, Shelton of Tibet, pp. 210-44.

[135] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1922, I, 864-68.
M. Josephine Soderstrom, "The Captured Ladies of Shenkiu," China's Millions, February, 1923, pp. 22-24.
Anton Lundeen, In the Grip of Bandits and yet in the Hand of God (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concern, 1925).

opponent, Wu Pei-fu, detailed to release the captives.

The diplomatic and consular representatives in China of the United States did not sit idly by while their fellow-citizens underwent robbery, occasional kidnapping, and the hazards of gunfire. Even before the attack on Knecht in 1918, all American women were ordered out of Changsha before the northerners arrived.[136] After Knecht was wounded, the American minister together with the British and Japanese ministers sent a joint note of protest to the foreign office in Peking,[137] and a few months later the United States vice-consul at Changsha prohibited the return of women and children to the interior of the province for a time.[138] The assault on Newman in Kwangtung was also protested at Peking.[139] In 1920 as warfare developed in the north the legation instructed the Tientsin consulate to advise all Americans to leave Paotingfu, the headquarters of one of the opposing generals.[140] Communications between the legation and the foreign office concerning the punishment of the general in command of the troops which killed W. A. Reimert continued for four years.[141] In Kwangtung during 1920 the

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[136] "Two Weeks in Changsha," News Items: Y. W. C. A.s of China, IV (May, 1918), 3.

[137] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918, pp. 97-98.

[138] Ibid., 1918, p. 109.

[139] "Concerning Ungkung," Missions, IX (November, 1918), 872.

[140] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1920, I, 437-38.

[141] Ibid., 1924, I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939), 604-07.

disturbed nature of affairs led to the sending of a launch for the American Baptists at Yingtak[142] and to a request by the American Presbyterians to the consulate for protection to missionaries traveling between the Canton and Lienchow stations.[143] The Foochow consul early in 1923 communicated with the provincial military official after two American Board members were robbed on the river below Kienning.[144] Furthermore, the interest taken by the British, French, Italian, Swedish, and United States ministers in the kidnapping of their nationals in Honan late in 1922 was so lively as to lead to the publication of a strongly worded joint note and the formation of an international investigating commission whose departure for Honan was halted only by the release of the first few foreigners.[145]

On the whole, Western nations retained their "prestige of power" in China through 1923. The preceding pages have shown that it was less effective in protecting United States Protestants during the period of this chapter than in the preceding half-decade. Still, Chinese who were presumably equally willing to prey on foreigners or on their fellow-nationals continued to think twice before invoking the possible wrath of a

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[142] Ibid., 1920, I, 807.

[143] Minutes of the South China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1920, II, 27.

[144] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XIX, Nos. 449, 450.

[145] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1922, I, 864-68.

foreigner's home government. In fact, the fear that in the disturbed conditions prevailing in southern Hunan during 1918 someone might shoot first and look afterward prompted the people of several districts to ask itinerating American Presbyterians not to visit them lest the death of a foreigner bring punishment to the district.[146] United States Protestant missionaries in China during the period 1917 to 1923, the years when Sun Yat-sen was struggling to establish his government at Canton and the warlords of the north were aligning their forces, thus continued to possess the aura which had surrounded them as foreigners during the preceding decade. Together with their willingness to give shelter to the fearful whenever possible and with the interest taken in their welfare by their government's representatives, it gave to them and their property a greater measure of security than that enjoyed by the Chinese around them. Because of this security, in all the wartorn provinces of China during that period missionaries were able to provide a refuge for those who came to them. Signs were already appearing, however, of a diminution in the prestige of the West upon which the safety of all Europeans and Americans outside of treaty ports depended, as the United States legation at Peking noted in 1919.[147] Leona Roschinsky of the South China Boat Mission, herself a resident of the province

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[146] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 13-2, 1918, Chenchow Station Report.

[147] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919, I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934), 335.

in which the mission compound first ceased to be able to act as an asylum in the internal struggles of the Chinese nation, summed up this period when she wrote during its closing months,

> It is very significant to notice that nothing is so carefully protected as Christian chapels, hospitals and schools, and the people know that, and so, when the danger comes that is where they seek shelter. . . . Something will have to come about soon, as this condition cannot continue always.[148]

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[148]"Letter from Leona Roschinsky," The Bulletin, V (May, 1923), 2.

CHAPTER VI

REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA AND THE DECLINE OF THE MISSIONS' POSITION, 1923-1928

After the re-establishment of Sun Yat-sen's government in Canton in the spring of 1923, the revolutionary leaders set about the task of strengthening their party in earnest. Under the tutelage of the advisers sent to them by the Soviet Union, they reorganized along both political and military lines. The final subjection of the Canton area to the control of the Kuomintang which followed during 1924 and 1925 prepared the way for the successful Northward Expedition of 1926 to 1928. Yet while the southern forces were girding themselves for what was expected to be the final reunification of China, in the central and northern provinces the rivalries of the warlords continued. During 1924 the control of the southern portion of Kiangsu, and especially of the Shanghai area, was contested by the military leaders of Kiangsu and Chekiang. Though the Kiangsu forces under Chi Hsieh-yuan were temporarily victorious, within twelve months Chi's ally, Sun Chuan-fang of Fukien, was in control. Sun had driven out the army landed at Shanghai early in 1925 by Chang Tso-lin, the Tiger of Mukden, as part of his campaign against Feng Yu-hsiang in the north. In 1924 Feng had taken possession of

Peking in a sudden move which placed him rather than his superior officers, Wu Pei-fu and Tsao Kun, in command of the North China plain; but by mid-1926 Chang Tso-lin succeeded in driving him back to the west. That summer saw the first of the series of campaigns usually known as the Northward or Northern expedition. Within two years the expedition was to carry the Kuomintang into Peking. The main body of the army marched up the line of the Canton-Hankow railway to seize the Wuhan cities while another section proceeded through Fukien toward Hangchow and Shanghai. At Hankow the Nationalists split along politico-military lines. The more strongly Moscow-influenced branch sought to establish contact with Feng Yu-hsiang (who had been receiving Soviet aid also)[1] to the north; the more purely nationalistic wing headed eastward with the twin purposes of gaining the arsenals and supplies of the Yangtze delta and of ending the threat presented by the forces of Sun Chuan-fang. By Chiang Kai-shek's conquest of the lower Yangtze during the winter and spring and by the inclusion of Feng's province of Honan in the Nationalist camp, the territory under the influence of Chang and Sun (now made allies by their common enmity to the Kuomintang) was severely restricted. Though Sun made a desperate effort to retake Nanking in August, the entry in September of the hitherto-neutral governor of Shansi, Yen Hsi-shan, on the side of his

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[1] Louis Fischer, The Soviets in World Affairs (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), pp. 649-50.

neighbor Feng proved decisive. By June 3rd, 1928, Yen held Peking and Chang was preparing to leave Tientsin. The nominal reunification of the country had been achieved.[2]

The reorganization through which the Kuomintang had been able to achieve its goal of recognition as the sole and legal government of China took place in two spheres, the political and the military. The military phase consisted largely of the training at the newly-founded Whampoa Military Academy of a cadre of field officers whose devotion to the Nationalist cause had much to do with the success in battle of the Kuomintang armies between 1925 and 1928. That devotion was in part a product of the political indoctrination given them during their training. Much confidence was placed before 1926 in the Soviet advisers sent to Canton after Sun Yat-sen and Soviet emissary Adolph Joffe reached a friendly understanding early in 1923. Therefore the academy's political indoctrination followed Marxist-Leninist ideology closely. The ordinary soldiers of the Nationalist army were also taught by political instructors. There was approximately one of these to every hundred

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[2]However, the entry of the Nationalist forces into Peking was not in itself sufficient to bring about the reunification of China. The Nanking government had to fight for its very existence during its first three years. Hupei and Honan, the theaters of war during 1929, were joined in 1930 by Shantung as an area of combat. By 1931 the Communists had made themselves felt in the provinces clustered around Kiangsi, a region which was not freed from their influence until late 1934 when they began their "long march" through Kweichow and Szechwan into Shensi and Shansi.

men, for it was the policy of the Kuomintang at that time to take in any armed units who offered themselves and trust to the effectiveness of the propagandists to convert them into zealous Nationalists.[3] However, Chiang Kai-shek and others soon realized that the efforts of the political commissars attached to the army, as well as of their Soviet advisers, were directed above all toward the furthering of Communist revolution and only secondarily toward the establishment of a strong and unified China. The series of attempts to purge first the Kuomintang and then the nation of the Communists which followed that realization began in March, 1926, and continued throughout the remainder of the first half of the twentieth century.

The political instruction given to both the hierarchy and the rank and file of the Kuomintang after 1923 was so effective that by the time of the second purge in April, 1927, only the Seventh Army Corps was sufficiently unaffected by it to be trusted to carry out the necessary arrests.[4] That instruction, which influenced the people of the cities and villages as well as the party and army membership, had a direct bearing upon the position of foreigners in China both during and after the period 1923 to 1928 dealt with in this chapter. The theme of the unequal treaties which Sun Yat-sen stressed during his lifetime was used and

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[3] F. F. Liu, A Military History of Modern China, 1924-1949 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), pp. 18-19.

[4] Ibid., p. 47.

reused, with every variation that the skill of the political commissars could devise, to arouse a desire to unite China so that she could be strong enough to abolish the special position held by foreigners within her borders. The Soviet advisers were enabled to use this line of attack readily not only by the relinquishment of the Soviet Union's privileges in China at the end of May, 1924, but by the bitter enmity with which Moscow regarded Britain and the United States, the leading Western powers exercising extraterritoriality in China. Their task was not an easy one, however, as the "Brief History of the Chinese Communist Party" translated by C. Martin Wilbur and Julie Lien-ying How indicates. Its author wrote of the difficulty with which the masses understood and accepted the application of the slogan "Down with imperialism!" to non-Japanese foreigners that Westerners

> were able to cover up their mischief so well that sometimes they were peace-makers in the eyes of the masses. . . .
> . . . . . .
> Parallel to the robberies and violence they were committing in China, the foreigners founded schools, newspapers, and peasant societies. . . . The people did not even react at first to this most urgent question of struggle against their bitter foe, imperialism.[5]

Nevertheless, the political commissars and propagandists did succeed after months of intensive effort in arousing the desired animosity towards Westerners. The retrocession of all foreign concessions in the treaty ports was demanded. Students throughout the country railed against mission schools as an attempt at foreign domination of China's

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[5]Documents on Communism, Nationalism, and Soviet Advisers in China, 1918-1927, trans. C. Martin Wilbur and Julie Lien-ying How (eds.) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), pp. 63-64.

educational system and insisted that they must be placed under Chinese control. Other property-holding foreign institutions, notably mission hospitals, faced similar demands. Nor were these sentiments and activities confined to the section of China under Kuomintang rule. The awakening nationalism of the students, who had first made themselves felt in 1919, combined with the propaganda disseminated through the Soviet embassy in Peking to make "China for the Chinese!" the cry of the hour. In every part of the country that call sounded the death-knell of the foreigner's privileges in China. Its tone grew more piercing after May 30th, 1925, when British police in Shanghai fired upon a street crowd to disperse them, killing a few and wounding others; and reached the peak of its stridency when less than four weeks later a sympathetic demonstration in Canton resulted in a shooting affray. The shots fired at Shanghai galvanized into action even the moribund Peking government, which two days later on June 1st protested vigorously the killing of students, "very patriotic and unarmed."[6] On June 24th, the day following the incident at Canton, the Peking administration presented to the powers its request for a readjustment of the treaties then existing between them and China.[7] Before Peking fell to the Nationalists in June, 1928, negotiations had been set on foot with Belgium, France,

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[6] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1925, I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940), 648.

[7] Ibid., 1925, I, 763-64.

Japan, and Spain looking toward the conclusion of more equitable treaties. The Nationalist government took them up and in addition initiated negotiations with Denmark, Italy, and Portugal. By the close of 1928 all of these except Japan had concluded new treaties more satisfactory to China, and Britain and the United States had entered into new tariff and customs agreements. As a result of this series of treaties and agreements, the only three nations whose citizens were still admitted by China to retain their extraterritorial privileges after 1928 were Britain, France, and the United States.[8]

The partial satisfaction of the nationalistic urges of patriotic Chinese by the nominal reunification of their country and the changes made in her formal relationships to other nations, together with the expulsion of Soviet agents from China during 1927 and 1928, produced an easing of the tension built up from 1923 to 1926. However, the conditions under which Westerners had worked in China after 1900 were swept away in the summer storm of 1925. No longer were their persons and property held sacrosanct by soldier and bandit; no longer were their words and wishes obeyed by the minions of the government. No longer, therefore, did the climate exist in which United States Protestant mission compounds had been able to act as shelters to Chinese who sought to escape the violence of their fellow-countrymen, and instances of their functioning in such a manner were rare indeed after 1928. The

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[8]Wesley R. Fishel, The End of Extraterritoriality in China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), pp. 127-31, 145-47.

spread of anti-foreign propaganda had affected mission properties because of their ownership; the concurrent spread of anti-religious and specifically anti-Christian propaganda had affected them because of their purpose. They did continue to serve as refuges until the last days of the struggle for Peking; but after 1923 they were able to do so only where Kuomintang forces were not in control. In fact, the line of the Kuomintang advance corresponds almost exactly in time and place with the cessation of the use of mission compounds as havens in civil disturbances. In many of the besieged cities during the last hours before the southern forces entered, those living in the vicinity of a mission sought safety in it as the defeated northern troops vented their anger in pillage and violence. Even in Nanking, where victorious Hunanese Nationalists a few short hours later were to commit so many acts against foreigners that the day was called by United States Minister MacMurray "probably the most disquieting single occurrence in the history of China's foreign relations since the Boxer uprising of 1900,"[9] shelter was given on the night of March 23rd, 1927, to Chinese fleeing northern looters.[10]

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[9] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1927, II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942), 7.

[10] United Board: Ginling, Box 48, Autobiography of Liu En-lan. Ibid., Minnie Vautrin diary, p. 228.
A Year of Triumph and Tragedy (Shanghai: Nanking Station of the Kiangan Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1927), p. 14.
"Eyewitness Tells of Nanking Looting," Spirit of Missions, XCII (June, 1927), 328.

The desire of the Chinese to be masters in their own house manifested itself in many ways during those turbulent years. The mission societies felt it chiefly as various groups tried in one way or another to make public property of their institutions. Occasionally radical members of the local government confiscated a building outright. At other times strikes and demonstrations were used in an attempt to force a school or hospital to close its doors so as to provide an excuse for the local government to reopen it. After the evacuations of late 1926 and early 1927, which virtually emptied central and south China of United States and other Protestant missionaries,[11] the Nationalist troops moving northward found many mission buildings empty. Partly because of their being vacant and in good repair, and partly because of the soldiers' indoctrination with the belief that all foreign property should return to Chinese hands, the vast majority of vacated mission structures in the armies' path seem to have been used as barracks at some time during the Northward Expedition. When the political advisers were still traveling with the army before the housecleaning of 1927 began, missionaries on occasion were even expelled from stations where they were still in residence, so that the troops or the political commissars could use the buildings. Not until November of 1928 was the Nationalist government's own foreign minister ready to claim that all mission and other

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[11] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1927, II, 236-316. "Some Aspects of the End of One Era of Christian Effort in China," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (April, 1927), 230.

United States nationals' properties were freed of any military or propagandist units using them,[12] and in several regions it took another one to three years for mission societies to regain their buildings.

Rarely were the land and buildings of a mission confiscated outright, and then only in South China where the influence of the Kuomintang was strong. The reference committee of the American Baptist mission in Kwangtung took action three times during 1926 and 1927 concerning the sequestration of its academy property at Kaying, but the provincial government still held it at the close of 1928.[13] Two leases held by the Sheklung station were canceled;[14] but unlike the Baptists at Kaying, neither the Presbyterians at Sheklung nor the Methodists of Futsing, Fukien,[15] mention having referred the confiscation of their buildings to the United States consul. More frequently, a strike of part or all of

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[12] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1928, II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), 252.

[13] Minutes of Reference Committee and Conference, South China Mission of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, April 7-14, 1926 (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, Ltd.), p. 9.

Ibid., June 21-22, 1926 (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, Ltd.), pp. 1-2.

Ibid., June 2 and 16, 1927 (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, Ltd.), p. 3.

Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1929 (New York: American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1929), p. 142.

[14] Minutes of the South China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1928 (n. p.), p. 13.

[15] "Futsing Notes," China Christian Advocate, XIV (December, 1927), 15.

the Chinese staff was used in an attempt to force the institution in question to close its doors. In the months following the "Shameen incident" in June, 1925, servant strikes in Canton affected five schools and hospitals in which the American Presbyterians held whole or part interest.[16] The following spring the Canton Hospital was shut down by the action of strikers who refused even to let the foreign staff bring in food for the patients, after having forced the Chinese staff to leave by threatening death to all who remained at work.[17] Hackett Memorial Hospital was also threatened by strikers.[18] The John G. Kerr Hospital for insane patients, which leased its compounds for a few months to another mission and to the Canton municipality when it had to close a year later, was still working in 1929 to recover the expired lease from the city government.[19] In the autumn of 1926 the Canton Christian College workers struck, but the loyalty of the student body and the guard sent by a non-Communist general kept the institution open.[20] In the

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[16] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 26-2, 1926, South China Mission Report.

[17] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1926, I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941), 698-99, 704. Chinese Communists and Mission Properties (n. p., n. d.), pp. 16-40.

[18] H. Davies, "Christian Work under Present Conditions: Canton," Chinese Recorder, LVII (June, 1926), 445.

[19] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 26-2, 1929, Report of the Board of Directors of the John G. Kerr Hospital.

[20] United Board: Lingnan, Box 191, O. F. Wisner in Canton to New York, November 9, 1926.

interior, the Southern Baptist hospital at Wuchow, Kwangsi, was closed late in March, 1926, by a strike of workers supported by the "Kwangsi Chinese Christian Promotion Association." The demands of the association, which included not only Chinese control of the funds and management of the hospital but an explicit statement by the missionaries of their opposition to the privileges granted by treaty to foreigners in China, pointed up the close connection between the strikes and demonstrations of the years 1925 to 1928 and the desire to regain control of all foreign-held properties.[21] The hospital was unsealed in July for use as a military hospital, but by the efforts of the United States consul-general at Canton the missionaries were enabled to return in peace two months later.[22] A previous strike threat at Wuchow had been averted in the summer of 1925 by the firm stand of the local military commander.[23] In northern Kwangtung, the Baptists who had lost Kaying Academy had to close several other schools in the region because of strikes.[24] At Changsha, after Chiang and the moderates had

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[21] Chinese Communists and Mission Properties, pp. 41-54.

[22] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1926, I, 712-14. Charles A. Hayes, "The Re-Opening of the Stout Memorial Hospital," New East, XXI (February, 1927), 8-12.

[23] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1925, I, 743. Chinese Communists and Mission Properties, p. 45.

[24] Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1927 (New York: American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1927), p. 132.

left Hunan in September, 1926, radical agitators fomented strike sentiment in four of Yale-in-China's institutions.[25] In Chengtu also, after the "Wanhsien incident" of September, 1926, when British gunboats were used to wrest two British steamers from the grip of a general then powerful in Szechwan, a servants' strike closed West China Union University for a brief period.[26]

More frequent even than strikes, however, were student or other demonstrations in which actual or threatened violence was used in an attempt to intimidate foreign instructors and medical personnel into departing, or at least into relinquishing authority. In the north, President J. L. Stuart of Yenching University at Peking was already alarmed in 1925 over such a possibility,[27] while a year later at Shuntehfu the threats of the publicity corps of the current army of occupation led the missionaries to appeal, successfully, to the local civil magistrate for a guard.[28] In the Yangtze valley, too, demonstrations

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[25]"Standing By," Yali Quarterly, X (December, 1926), 2-4.
"Missionary Tragedies in 1926," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (January, 1927), 75.

[26]"In Chengtu, Szechwan," Chinese Recorder, LVII (December, 1926), 907-09.
"The Chengtu Boycott," West China Missionary News, XXVIII (December, 1926), 11-15.
William Reginald Morse, The Three Crosses in the Purple Mists (Shanghai: Mission Book Company, 1928), pp. 247-56.

[27]American Board, ABC: 16.3.14: Vol. IV, No. 115.

[28]Presbyterian U. S. A. Reports: 19-2, 1926, Annual Report

occurred in 1925, as for example at Chao Ling in Kiangsu,[29] and early in 1926 as in Kiukiang, Kiangsi,[30] but more came after the arrival of the Kuomintang forces and the agitators who traveled with them. A plan designed to force the closing of the Southern Presbyterian boys' school at Kiangyin, Kiangsu, in March of 1927 was more successful than those at Hangchow Christian College and in Sun-wu, Kiangsi, some months later.[31] During one period none of the Protestant Episcopal schools in the Shanghai diocese were open,[32] and in Wuchang two American schools closed after anti-Christian demonstrations deprived them of many of their students.[33] As was to be expected, however, the

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of North China Mission.

China Council Bulletin of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, No. 56 (January 28, 1926), p. 209.

[29]H. E. Banton, "China's Unrest," Advent Christian Missions, V (October, 1925), 279-80.

Idem, "Nanking," Advent Christian Missions, VII (November, 1926), 14.

[30]T. L. Sinclair, "Kiukiang," Anking Newsletter, VI (March-April, 1926), 38.

[31]C. E. Bousfield, "Back in My South China Station," Missions, XVIII (November, 1927), 617.

R. F. Fitch, "Communists Cause Trouble in Hangchow Christian College," Presbyterian Survey, XVIII (April, 1928), 234-35.

Andrew Allison, "What Luola Murchison Sprunt Academy Means to Her Girls," Presbyterian Survey, XIX (January, 1929), 30.

[32]"The Revolution and Christian Colleges," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (July, 1927), 454.

[33]"Wuchang," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (February, 1927), 144-45.

most violent disturbances occurred in the southern provinces. In Kwangsi, the missionaries at Kweilin went through three periods of danger. The third and last ended with the smashing of everything breakable in their buildings.[34] In Kwangtung, at Chek Hom and at Waichow anti-mission demonstrations occurred,[35] while on Hainan the attacks made by the Agricultural-Military School in Kachek on its neighbor, the American Presbyterian mission station, were the subject of correspondence between the mission, the Canton consulate, and the Hainan commissioner for foreign affairs throughout the first nine months of 1926.[36] The letters preserved by the American Board tell of missionaries' troubles in Fukien province, where the gates of one school were set on fire with kerosene,[37] and the same versatile fluid was twice poured into another's well.[38] After the radicals failed to close Fukien

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[34] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1926, I, 700, 703. C. J. Lowe, "Looted but Looking Forward Hopefully," Home and Foreign Fields, XI (August, 1927), 32.

[35] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1926, I, 709-11. Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 26-2, 1928, Report of the Sz Yap Field.

[36] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1926, I, 695, 710-11. Hainan Mission Minutes, 1927 (n. p.), pp. 3-4. David S. Tappan, "Cantonese Troops' Orderly Entry into Kachek," Hainan News Letter, Summer, 1926, pp. 17-18. "Three Thrilling Months," Hainan News Letter, Fall, 1926, pp. 11-17. K. L. Shaeffer, "Rumblings before the Storm," Hainan News Letter, Fall, 1926, pp. 18-21.

[37] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XXI, No. 360.

[38] Ibid., Vol. XIX, No. 70.

Christian University by organizing its student body, they took to burning down not only its buildings but those of two British mission schools as well.[39] At Foochow, moreover, took place perhaps the largest single anti-mission demonstration affecting United States Protestants prior to the attack on foreigners at Nanking. It began with a revival of the forty-year-old tales of foreigners who boiled dead children's bodies in order to make medicine, and continued under the direction of Nationalist soldiers throughout an afternoon and evening.[40] Several Christian schools closed shortly afterward,[41] but only three relatively ineffectual

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[39] Ibid., Vol. XX, No. 389.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.14: Vol. I, No. 245.
United Board: Fukien Christian University, Box A No. 3, Eva M. Asher in Foochow to New York, January 14, 1928.
"Conditions in Fukien," Chinese Recorder, LIX (August, 1928), 534.

[40] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1927, II, 51, 242-45, 249, 251.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XVIII, No. 250.
Ibid., Vol. XIX, Nos. 88, 474.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.7: Vol. I, Nos. 94, 346.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.14: Vol. I, No. 312.
"Special News," Foochow Messenger, VI (January, 1927), inserted sheet.
W. N. L[acy], "The Foochow Rioting," Foochow News, II (June 25, 1927), 2, 4.
Samuel H. Leger, "What Happened at Foochow," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (April, 1927), 288-90.

[41] W. N. L[acy], "The Foochow Rioting," Foochow News, II (June 25, 1927), 2, 4.

demonstrations were reported during the next five months.[42]

The use of foreign enclosures as barracks by the armies of the Northward Expedition and as headquarters by both the military and the political branches of the Kuomintang displayed to Chinese all over the nation the disappearance in fact of the privileges retained in name by foreigners in China. The mission compounds were used with great frequency because of their convenient locations along the routes taken by the Kuomintang forces. The comment of A. R. Kepler of the University of Nanking that

> nowhere did I find the slightest indication that they realized it was our property they were occupying, that perhaps they were discommoding us by thus occupying our homes and schools and hospitals. The impression I got was that we foreigners were intruders.[43]

expressed a general reaction. However, a Methodist editor remarked in August, 1927,

> To one who for months has been hearing the howls of missionaries whose empty residences and school buildings have been occupied by Nationalist soldiers, it is almost a relief to hear the complaints against the quartering of northern troops upon the poor villagers. . . . Perhaps as a choice between using mission schools and churches as barracks in territory through which an active military campaign is being carried, and sending thousands of poor, dilapidated soldiers to live in the homes of the country people where the hand of war has not yet been laid, the southern way is not so bad.[44]

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[42] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1927, II, 86, 267. "How a Girls' College Weathered the Revolutionary Storm," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (November, 1927), 733-34.

[43] United Board: Nanking, Box 51, A. R. Kepler, "Nanking--Four Months After" (manuscript).

[44] "Random Observations," China Christian Advocate, XIV (August 24, 1927), 7.

The implications made in both these statements that the troops' use of mission properties as barracks was deliberate were borne out by the observations of other missionaries. On Hainan in 1926, near Hankow early in 1927, and at Chuchow near Nanking later in the year mission-owned buildings were the first to be taken.[45] At Liling in Hunan and Hwaiyuan in Anhwei local radicals led the incoming troops to the missions first of all.[46] Doubtless they did so in somewhat the same spirit that led the mayor of Ningpo to claim the right to use mission property there because it was "a gift of the American people to the Chinese people."[47] The soldiers of one of the armies being gathered late in 1927 for the final northward push demanded the faculty houses of the University of Nanking "on the basis that the houses were really soldiers' barracks."[48] As late as the closing weeks of 1927, a Chinese clergyman was told at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Nanking that the ministry

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[45] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XLIV, No. 446.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 14-2, 1926, Annual Report of the Hainan Mission.
"Fruits of Persecution," Chinese Recorder, LIX (June, 1928), 398-99.
E. A. Beck, "Why Our Missionaries Left Yochow City," Outlook of Missions, XIX (April, 1927), 173.

[46] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 10-2, 1930, Annual Report of Huai Yuen Station.
Laura M. W. Ulmer, "The Center Front on China's Stage," Evangelical Missionary World, IV (October, 1926), 370-73.

[47] Presbyterian Library, China Clippings 1925-1929: Aimes B. Millican in Shanghai (general letter), August 15, 1927.

[48] United Board: Nanking, Box 60, J. H. Reisner in Shanghai to New York, November 2, 1927.

would protect foreign residences and schools from use as barracks or political headquarters, but not churches.[49] The Kuomintang forces used mission buildings from the time the Whampoa cadets began to take the field in 1925. On Hainan, they drove the refugees out of the Nodoa compound in order to use it in February, 1926,[50] and returned twice thereafter,[51] in addition to using chapels in the Kiungchow and Kachek areas.[52] On the mainland of Kwangtung, Kochow, Sheklung, Waichow, Lienchow, and Kaying were among the stations reporting use of mission properties by troops of the Nationalist armies,[53] and in Kwangsi,

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[49] J. G. Magee, "Nanking Passing through Troublous Days," Spirit of Missions, XCIII (March, 1928), 161-64.

[50] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 14-2, 1926, Annual Report of the Hainan Mission.

Stuart P. Seaton, "Canton Soldiers Force Their Way into Nodoa Compound," Hainan News Letter, Summer, 1926, pp. 19-20.

[51] M. P. Melrose, "Sunshine and Shadow in Nodoa," Hainan News Letter, Fall, 1926, pp. 7-9.

[52] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1926, I, 709, 711.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 14-2, 1926, Evangelistic Report of Kiungchow and Nodoa Stations.

China Council Bulletin, No. 60 (May 19, 1926), p. 238.

Ibid., No. 79 (July 10, 1928), p. 328.

Ibid., No. 84 (November 3, 1928), p. 346.

[53] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 26-2, 1926, Report of Shek Lung Station.

Ibid., 26-2, 1927, South China Mission Report.

Ibid., 26-2, 1927, Report of Kochow Station.

Minutes of the South China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1928 (n. p.), p. 13.

Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1928 (New York: American Baptist Foreign Mission Society,

Liuchow too had buildings taken for a time.[54] As the Northward Expedition swept upward through Hunan, Chenchow, Hengchow, Liling, Siangtan, Changsha, Yochow, and Changteh missions underwent similar experiences,[55] and in Hupei and Honan provinces the same thing

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1928), pp. 132-33.

China Council Bulletin, No. 72 (January 20, 1928), p. 293.

"Some Outstanding Features," Chinese Recorder, LVII (June, 1926), 448.

[54]J. A. Poole, "A Visit to the Mandarin District," South China Alliance Tidings, XXII (February, 1928), 2-5.

[55]Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 13-2, 1928, Report of Siangtan Station.

Presbyterian Library: Ralph C. Wells, Chinagram No. 26, December 11, 1928.

Ibid., C. H. Derr, Chenchow-Hengchow Station Letter, August 1, 1927.

Presbyterian Library, China Clippings 1925-29: Chenchow-Hengchow Station Letter, Winter, 1927-1928.

Presbyterian Library, China Medical: Changteh Hospital, January, 1929.

The Church of Christian Hunan, 1929 (Hunan Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America), pp. 3-10.

China Council Bulletin, No. 70 (November 21, 1927), p. 288.

E. H. Hume, "All Is Well at Yale-in-China," Yali Quarterly, X (September, 1926), 2.

Louise W. Farnam, "The Nationalist Movement as I Saw It," Yali Quarterly, X (March, 1927), 5.

"Re-Opening of Yali," Yali Quarterly, XI (December, 1927-March, 1928), 4.

"On the Field," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (October, 1927), 674.

"Notes from Hunan," Chinese Recorder, LIX (June, 1928), 397-98.

Laura M. W. Ulmer, "The Center Front on China's Stage," Evangelical Missionary World, IV (October, 1926), 371-73.

"From a Letter Written by Mrs. Dubs to Mrs. Maze," Evangelical Missionary World, V (October, 1927), 367.

W. P. Ulmer, "China," Evangelical Missionary World, VI (October, 1928), 371-72.

E. A. Beck, "Why Our Missionaries Left Yochow City,"

occurred.[56] Feng Yu-hsiang on his march through Honan also used mission enclosures for his men,[57] as did the Nationalists as they

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Outlook of Missions, XIX (April, 1927), 173.

Idem, "Re-Opening of Kindergarten at Yochow City," Outlook of Missions, XXI (May, 1929), 216.

W. Tyng, "A Missionary's Return to Changsha," Spirit of Missions, XCV (April, 1930), 263.

[56]P. Matson, "Shadow and Light in Hupeh," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (December, 1927), 802.

O. R. Wold, "Shekow Theological Seminary, China," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXV (October, 1927), 154-56.

"At the Home Base," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXV (November, 1927), 169.

"Olive Hodnefield of Fancheng," The Missionary, III (May, 1940), 33.

"Notes from China," Spirit of Missions, XCII (August, 1927), 499-500.

Handbooks on the Missions of the Episcopal Church: Number One: China (rev. ed.; New York: National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1932), pp. 49, 54.

Skinsnes, Scalpel and Cross in Hoana, pp. 170-76.

[57]J. W. Lindbeck, "Letter from China," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXV (September, 1927), 133-34.

"Letters from Rev. J. W. Lindbeck," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXV (November, 1927), 163.

J. L. Benson, "News from China," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXVI (February, 1928), 24-25.

Idem, "The Latest News from Our Field in China," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXVI (March, 1928), 35-37.

"Two Interesting Letters from Our Chinese Church Leaders," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXVI (May, 1928), 66-69.

"One of Our Augustana Synod's Converts on Our Field in Honan Receives the Martyr's Crown," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXVI (August, 1928), 114.

"Letter from Rev. Walter Lindbeck," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXVI (October, 1928), 147-48.

Nels Benson, "News from China," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXVI (October, 1928), 154-56.

"The Care of the Church," China's Millions, February, 1928, pp. 25-26.

"Reestablishing Contacts," China's Millions, April, 1928,

traveled down the Yangtze toward Nanking and Shanghai, from Kiukiang, Nanchang, Yuanchow, and Yushan to Anking, Wuhu, Chaohsien, Luchowfu (from which the missionaries were forcibly evicted), Chuchow, and Luho.[58] In Nanking itself, for a year after the missionaries were

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pp. 61-62.

"Ki Hsien's Letter to Mrs. Schlosser," The Missionary Tidings, XXXI (December, 1927), 221.

E. P. Ashcraft, "From Honan, China," The Missionary Tidings, XXXII (January, 1928), 2-3, 18.

Idem, "From Honan, China," The Missionary Tidings, XXXII (March, 1928), 43-44.

Idem, "A China Letter," The Missionary Tidings, XXXII (April, 1928), 64.

W. E. Sallee, "Interior Mission, S. B. C.," New East, XXII (May, 1928), 27.

Idem, "News from Honan," Home and Foreign Fields, XII (November, 1928), 28-29.

Gustav Carlberg (ed.), Thirty Years in China (Board of Missions of the Augustana Synod, 1937), p. 26.

[58] L. R. C[raighill], "Nanchang," Anking Newsletter, VII (December, 1926), 35.

E. J. Lee, "Anking Revolution and Evacuation," Anking Newsletter, VII (March-June, 1927), 11-12.

B. W. L[anphear], "St. James Senior Middle School, Wuhu," Anking Newsletter, VII (March-June, 1927), 38-39.

Anking Newsletter, IX (January, 1928), 2-7.

D. T. H[untington], "Bishop's Column," Anking Newsletter, IX (April-May, 1928), 2.

"Kiukiang: William Nast College," China Christian Advocate, XIII (December, 1926), 20.

W. R. Johnson, "Nanchang," China Christian Advocate, XIV (February, 1927), 20.

"Nanking and Chinkiang," China Christian Advocate, XIV (July 27, 1927), 9.

"Women's Notes," China Christian Advocate, XIV (August 3, 1927), 9.

"Tunki," China Christian Advocate, XIV (August 3, 1927), 9.

"Kiangsi as Seen by Mr. Brown," China Christian Advocate, XIV (September 28, 1927), 11.

"A Flee Returns," China Christian Advocate, XV (November,

forced to leave temporarily by the attacks on foreigners made by the battle-weary southerners who entered the city on March 24th,

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1928), 15-16.

"Nanchang Notes," China Christian Advocate, XVI (January, 1929), 11.

"Nanking Notes," China Christian Advocate, XVI (February, 1929), 15.

"The General Situation," China Christian Newsletter, II (March, 1928), 1-3.

"Station Reports," China Christian Newsletter, II (March, 1928), 3-6.

Miss B. E. Okey, "The Arrival of the Southern Army," China's Millions, January, 1927, pp. 7-8.

Miss A. M. Johannsen, "When the Enemy Came in like a Flood," China's Millions, July, 1927, pp. 126-27.

Idem, "Carrying on at Yushan," China's Millions, September, 1927, p. 165.

"A Glimpse at Anking," Chinese Recorder, LIX (January, 1928), 60.

"Letter from B. E. Cassidy," Advent Christian Missions, VII (August, 1927), 233-34.

"Letter from Joseph Wharton," Advent Christian Missions, VII (September, 1927), 285.

J. Wharton, "Latest Word from Superintendent Wharton," Advent Christian Missions, VIII (December, 1927), 47.

"A Newsy and Interesting Letter," Advent Christian Missions, VIII (January, 1928), 61-62.

"From Pastor F. W. L. Chang," Advent Christian Missions, VIII (January, 1928), 64.

J. Wharton, "Troublesome but not Impossible Conditions," Advent Christian Missions, VIII (February, 1928), 94.

C. A. Matti, "Recent Happenings in China," Friends Oriental News, XVIII (September, 1927), 2.

Elsie V. Matti, "News from Luho and Nanking," Friends Oriental News, XVIII (September, 1927), 4.

M. A. Holme, "Recent Happenings in China," Friends Oriental News, XVIII (December, 1927), 1-2.

L. R. Craighill, "Living through Real Revolution in China," Spirit of Missions, XCII (April, 1927), 202.

E. J. Lee, "The Church's Opportunity in China," Spirit of Missions, XCIII (March, 1928), 146.

O. J. Goulter, "How the Missionaries Left Luchowfu," World Call, N. S. IX (July, 1927), 24-28.

Cammie Gray, "A Dream Come True," World Call, N. S. X

1927,[59] mission and other foreign properties were used, some intermittently and others constantly, by the concentrations of troops preparing to march into Shantung and Chihli.[60] In the region between

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(December, 1928), 34.

E. I. Osgood, "Through War and Banditry," World Call, N. S. XII (November, 1930), 28-29.

[59] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1927, II, 151-64.

"Some Aspects of the End of One Era of Christian Effort in China," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (April, 1927), 227-29.

Partial list of eyewitness accounts:

American Board ABC: 16.3.7: Vol. II, Nos. 126, 127.

Methodist Library, Biographical Files: Statements re Nanking Incident, 1927.

United Board: Nanking, Box 51, Statements of M. S. Bates et al., 1927.

Edwin Marx, "My Personal Experience at the Fall of Nanking," Advent Christian Missions, VII (June, 1927), 193-98.

Wheeler, J. E. Williams, pp. 169-86.

[60] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1927, II, 220, 307.

Ibid., 1928, II, 249.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 10-2, 1928, Nanking Station Report.

United Board: Ginling, Box 12, Minnie Vautrin in Shanghai (general letter), August 28, 1927.

Ibid., Nanking, Box 51, Minutes of Meeting of Hospital Delegation, April 18, 1927.

Ibid., Nanking, Box 51, J. H. Reisner in Shanghai, letters of July 27, August 31, September 16, October 19, October 21, and November 2, 1927, and of January 3 and January 13, 1928.

A Year of Triumph and Tragedy, pp. 18-21.

"Letter from Joseph Wharton," Advent Christian Missions, VII (September, 1927), 285.

"Excerpts from a Letter from David Yang," Advent Christian Missions, VIII (June, 1928), 191.

J. G. Magee, "Nanking Passing through Troublous Days," Spirit of Missions, XCIII (March, 1928), 161-63.

W. R. Williams, These Fifty Years with Ohio Friends in China (Damascus, Ohio: 1940), pp. 166-76.

Nanking and Shanghai, soldiers of the Kuomintang stayed for various lengths of time in mission stations at Chinkiang, Yangchow, Liuho, Wusih, Soochow, and smaller centers, and within the Chinese section of Shanghai one institution held troops all during the summer of 1927.[61] Meanwhile the contingent of Nationalists moving up toward Kiangsu through northern Fukien and Chekiang had in similar fashion begun commandeering missions as temporary barracks and

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[61] Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, General Correspondence: A. G. Waters, May 13, June 3, and June 10, 1927.

Presbyterian Library, China Clippings 1925-1929: Mrs. O. C. Crawford in Shanghai (general letter), September 8, 1927.

Annual Report of the Central China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1926-1927 (n. p.), pp. 16, 21-22.

Ibid., 1927-1928 (n. p.), p. 26.

D. F. D[odd], "What Happened at Chinkiang," China Christian Advocate, XIV (April, 1927), 18.

"Women's Notes," China Christian Advocate, XIV (July 27, 1927), 9.

Mrs. T. C. Britton, "The Nationalist Occupation of Wusih," Home and Foreign Fields, XI (September, 1927), 20.

C. C. Marriott, "Chinese Faithful under Trying Conditions," Home and Foreign Fields, XII (March, 1928), 32.

James E. Bear, "The Futility of Chinese Authority," Presbyterian Survey, XVIII (September, 1928), 559-60.

F. R. Graves, "Record of Events in the China Field," Spirit of Missions, XCII (June, 1927), 325.

H. A. McNulty, "The Story of Soochow Academy," Spirit of Missions, XCIII (February, 1928), 117.

"St. Andrew's Hospital, Wusih, Reopened," Spirit of Missions, XCIII (August, 1928), 538.

J. W. Wood, "Emmanuel Church, Yangchow, Reopened," Spirit of Missions, XCIV (January, 1929), 51.

B. L. Ancell, "Alumni Support Reopened Mahan School," Spirit of Missions, XCIX (January, 1934), 11.

Palmborg, China Letters, pp. 159-60.

officers' quarters from Yenping, Inghok, and Shaowu to Huchow, Kashing, Hangchow, and Ningpo.[62] As the scene of action shifted northward from the Yangtze, in Shansi and in the northern portions of Kiangsu and Anhwei the Kuomintang and its allies made use of various mission buildings, as for example in Fenchow and Hwaiyuan.[63] In Shantung, too, from Yihsien eastward to Kiaochow and northward to Tehchow the incoming southerners occupied missions for varying amounts of

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[62] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XVIII, No. 326.
Ibid., Vol. XX, Nos. 391, 399, 409, 605.
Ibid., Vol. XXI, No. 138.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.7: Vol. I, No. 340.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. I, Nos. 103, 280, 283.
Methodist Women, General Correspondence: Mary Blackford, May 6, 1927.
Ibid., S. L. MacKinnon, March 11, 1927.
Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1928, pp. 127-28.
"Kutien," China Christian Advocate, XIV (June 29, 1927), 7.
"From Letters," China Christian Advocate, XIV (July 27, 1927), 9.
"At 'Eternal Spring,'" China Christian Advocate, XVI (February, 1929), 11.
W. H. Hudson, "Things in China," Presbyterian Survey, XVIII (January, 1928), 38.

[63] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XLII, No. 380.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 10-2, 1928, Hwaiyuan Station Report.
Presbyterian Library: Ralph C. Wells, Chinagram No. 17, November 13, 1928.
Minutes of the Kiangan Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1928 (n. p.), pp. 1-2.
"Notes on Mission Conditions in Early June," Bible for China, No. 35 (July, 1928), pp. 41-43.
China Council Bulletin, No. 81 (September 15, 1928), p. 334.
A. T. Bostick, "Experiences in Interior China," Home and Foreign Fields, XII (December, 1928), 31.
"Notes from Our Fields," The Missionary Visitor, XXX

time;[64] and in Chihli, the victorious Nationalists used mission properties from K'aichow to Peking during mid-1928.[65] Moreover, in the wars of the post-reunification period, Kuomintang forces continued the practice of using United States Protestant mission enclosures despite

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(March, 1928), 75.

M. A. Hopkins, "The Chinese Church in the Present Crisis," The Presbyterian, September 1, 1927, p. 6.

"In North Kiangsu," Presbyterian Survey, XIX (May, 1929), 301-02.

[64] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XL, Nos. 222, 288.

Ibid., Vol. XLVIII, Nos. 350, 362.

Ibid., Vol. LIV, No. 18.

Ibid., Vol. LVIII, No. 205.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 20-2, 1928, Report of Shantung Mission.

Ibid., 20-2, 1928, Ichowfu Station Report.

Ibid., 20-2, 1928, Report of Tsining Station.

Ibid., 20-2, 1929, Report of Tsining Station.

Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Shantung Mission Council of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1928 (Tsingtao: Catholic Mission Press, 1928), p. 47.

Yihsien Station Report for 1927-1928 (n. p.), pp. 1-2.

Frances S. Meader, "Tai-An," China Christian Advocate, XV (June, 1928), 15.

"Letter from Miss Studley at Taian," China Christian Advocate, XV (September, 1928), 13.

F. S. Meader, "The Siege of Taianfu," China Christian Advocate, XV (September, 1928), 11-12.

China Council Bulletin, No. 71 (December 23, 1927), p. 290.

Ibid., No. 74 (April 20, 1928), p. 306.

Theodore Scholz, "Days of Unrest at Kiaochow, China," Foreign Missionary, XLVII (November, 1927), 12-13.

Frieda Strecker, "The Trying Days at Kiaochow, China," Lutheran Woman's Work, XXI (March, 1928), 123.

[65] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XLIV, Nos. 314, 356.

Ibid., Vol. XLVI, Nos. 503, 504.

Ibid., Vol. XLVIII, Nos. 419, 420.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 19-2, 1928, Report of Shuntehfu Station.

the protests of missionaries and of representatives of the United States government.[66]

Not only did the troops themselves take over mission buildings for periods ranging from a night to a year, but traveling political propagandists and local party-connected organizations also settled themselves into a number of mission structures. They usually stayed for at least several weeks and often their occupation lasted for a number of months. On Hainan and in northern Kwangtung,[67] during the march

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[66] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1929, II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), 436, 441-42, 465-70, 477-80, 484, 504.

Ibid., 1930, II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945), 132, 177, 212.

Ibid., 1931, III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946), 945-52, 971-74.

Ibid., 1933, III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1949), 528.

Ibid., 1934, III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950), 467-69.

Ibid., 1935, III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953), 694.

There are numerous references in missionary letters, reports, and periodicals to the use of mission property by government troops. For example, the American Board's correspondence includes:

American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XXXVI, No. 327.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LVII, No. 324.
Ibid., Vol. LVIII, No. 201.
Ibid., Vol. LIX, No. 87.
Ibid., Vol. LXVI, Nos. 79, 80, 82, 84.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. IV, Nos. 33, 211, 218.
Ibid., Vol. V, No. 13.
Ibid., Vol. VI, Nos. 25, 26, 27, 38, 313.

[67] American Baptist Foreign Mission Society files: A. H. Page, Annual Report of the South China Mission, 1926.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 14-2, 1926, Annual Report

through Hunan and Honan[68] and the drive along the Yangtze to Shanghai,[69] as well as that up through Fukien and Chekiang,[70] mission

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of the Hainan Mission.

China Council Bulletin, No. 59 (April 15, 1926), p. 232.

Ibid., No. 60 (May 19, 1926), p. 238.

M. R. Melrose, "Sunshine and Shadows in Nodoa," Hainan News Letter, Fall, 1926, p. 7.

[68]Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 13-2, 1928, Report of Siangtan Station.

Presbyterian Library: C. H. Derr, Chenchow-Hengchow Station Letter, August 1, 1927.

"Christian Work in Hunan," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (May-June, 1927), 379.

"Letter from Rev. Nels Benson," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXVI (November, 1928), 162.

Nels Benson, "From Our Field in Honan," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXVII (March, 1929), 35, 38.

George H. Epp, "Present Situation in Our China Missions," Evangelical Missionary World, V (September, 1927), 325-26.

E. P. Ashcraft, "From Honan, China," The Missionary Tidings, XXXII (March, 1928), 44.

Idem, "Frustrated," The Missionary Tidings, XXXII (June, 1928), 104.

Kate P. Leininger, "Clara Leffingwell Memorial Hospital," The Missionary Tidings, XXXII (November, 1928), 205.

W. Tyng, "A Missionary's Return to Changsha," Spirit of Missions, XCV (April, 1930), 263.

[69]Presbyterian U. S. A. Reports: 10-2, 1928, Nanking Station Report.

Annual Report of the Central China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1926-1927, pp. 21-22.

A Year of Triumph and Tragedy, pp. 20-21.

"Door of Hope, Shanghai," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (July, 1927), 463.

"With Charles Matti at Luho and Nanking," Friends Oriental News, XIX (December, 1928), 1-3.

F. R. Graves, "Record of Events in the China Field," Spirit of Missions, XCII (June, 1927), 325.

Williams, These Fifty Years with Ohio Friends in China, p. 177.

[70]Presbyterian Library, China Clippings 1925-1929: Aimee B.

buildings were taken for use as headquarters by political education bureaus, laborers' and farmers' unions, and revolutionary schools. When the momentum necessary for the second great push, that from the Yangtze to Peking, had accumulated, more northerly mission stations had similar experiences, in Kiangsu, Anhwei, and Shantung.[71] The occupation of mission institutions by student and party organizations continued in a number of instances into 1929 and after that date.[72] However, no official support was given to local attempts to force Shantung Christian University and West China Union University to close so that

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Millican in Shanghai (general letter), August 15, 1927.

Annual Report of the Central China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1926-1927, pp. 14-15.

"Yenping and Fukien," China Christian Advocate, XIV (August 10, 1927), 9.

[71] Methodist Library, Project Files: "History of the Shantung Annual Conference, 1873-1937" (manuscript), pp. 56-58.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 20-2, 1929, Report of the Shantung Mission.

Ibid., 10-2, 1929, Hwaiyuan Annual Station Report.

Ibid., 10-2, 1928, Kiangan Mission Report.

Yihsien Station Report, 1927-1928, p. 2.

China Council Bulletin, No. 81 (September 15, 1928), p. 334.

"In North Kiangsu," Presbyterian Survey, XIX (May, 1929), 301-02.

[72] For example:

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1929, II, 441-42, 448, 484.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 10-2, 1930, Annual Report of Hwaiyuan Station.

Ibid., 26-2, 1929, Report of the Board of Directors of the John G. Kerr Hospital.

Ibid., 19-2, 1933, Paotingfu Station Report.

Minutes of the Shantung Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1931 (Tsinan: Cheeloo University

they might be confiscated.[73] By 1935 the only United States Protestant institution sequestered during the years 1925 to 1928 which had not been returned seems to have been the American Baptist academy at Kaying. It was still in Chinese hands in 1941.[74]

The Kuomintang and its allies were not, however, alone in

Press, 1931), p. 43.

Annual Report of the Yihsien Station of the Shantung Mission, 1932 (n. p.), p. 1.

The Cross is in the Field, 1931 (New York: Central Presbyterian Church, 1931), p. 3.

A. K. Whallon, "Patience Rewarded," Seedtime and Harvest in Paotingfu (n. p.: 1933), pp. 4-5.

W. R. Johnson, "One Year in Kiangsi," China Christian Advocate, XVII (March, 1930), p. 13.

M. B. Hanson, "Annual Report of the Yenshih District," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXIX (May, 1931), 72-73.

Idem, "Annual Report of the Yenshih District for 1931," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXX (April, 1932), 50.

Idem, "Annual Report from the Yenshih District for the Year 1932," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXXI (May, 1933), 74.

C. C. Talbott, "Self-Denial Practiced in China," Evangelical Missionary World, XI (January, 1933), 14.

[73] United Board: Shantung Christian University, Roll 41, Cheeloo and the Revolution: The Trial of a Christian University and the Tang Pu's Attack on Shantung Christian University. (Microfilmed.)

"Mob Rule in Chengtu," West China Missionary News, XXXII (September, 1930), 24-26.

H. G. Anderson, "Rights and Wrongs in Chengtu Today," Chengtu Newsletter, II (November, 1930), 10-11.

Idem, "Militarists and Communists," Chengtu Newsletter, II (May, 1931), 19-21.

[74] Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1930 (New York: American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1930), p. 154.

Ibid., 1935 (New York: American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1935), p. 111.

K. G. Hobart, "A Long and Weary Trek in War Ravaged China," Missions, XXXII (October, 1941), 471.

utilizing United States Protestant mission property between 1923 and 1928. Their northern opponents did so also, as did local forces in provinces such as Szechwan. Soviet propagandists were not as directly responsible for the attitudes of soldiers under anti-Nationalist commanders as they were for the actions of the Kuomintang, although the ferment of 1925 (which was felt in every region of China and was in part a result of their efforts) did much to break down the prestige of foreigners. However, up until 1928 in areas outside the boundaries of the Kuomintang government the diminution of Western prestige usually affected the property, rather than the person, of the United States Protestant missionary. In Szechwan as early as 1924 local troops attempted to use a compound in Chungking,[75] and succeeded in doing so the following year at Kiating,[76] though in 1927 an American Baptist at Yachow was able to keep the compounds there free from their presence.[77] The Szechwanese who invaded Kwangtung in 1925 were also persuaded to leave the one building they entered at Lienchow.[78] North of the Yangtze, the troops

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[75] C. B. Rape, "A Chungking Siege," China Christian Advocate, XI (February, 1924), 18.

[76] Archibald G. Adams, "Extraterritoriality and the Missionary in an Interior City," Chinese Recorder, LVII (January, 1926), 49.

[77] "Conditions in Yachow, Szechwan," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (September, 1927), 601-02.

[78] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 26-2, 1926, Report of Linchow Station.

of the northern warlords during the wars of 1925 were reported to have used property belonging to missions from Kiangsu and Shantung to Chihli, Honan, and Shansi.[79] As the northern forces fell back before the southern onslaught, again some of them made use of mission properties, from Hupei to Anhwei, Kiangsu, and finally Shantung.[80] After 1928 the government's enemies continued to take over mission buildings in the path of their campaigns.[81] In every region of China, however, those who remained at their stations reported that it was easier for a missionary who was present when an army arrived to preserve

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[79] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXVIII, No. 55. Letter from Miss Esther E. Kreps to author, September 25, 1956. "Letter from J. R. Graham, Sr.," Monthly Messenger, XVI (March, 1925), 1678. P. O. H[anson], "Shantung Notes," China Christian Advocate, XIII (January, 1926), 17. "Chang Li Notes," China Christian Advocate, XIII (February, 1926), 19. Skinsnes, Scalpel and Cross in Honan, pp. 126-28.

[80] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 20-2, 1928, Yihsien Briefs. Ibid., 20-2, 1928, Report of Tsining Station. Kiangan Mission Minutes, 1928, p. 1. Annual Report of the Ichowfu Station, 1926-1927 (Shantung: Shantung Mission of the Presbyterian Curch in the United States of America), p. 18. China Council Bulletin, No. 79 (July 10, 1928), pp. 327-28. Frieda Strecker, "The Trying Days at Kiaochow, Shantung," Lutheran Woman's Work, XXI (March, 1928), 123. "The Aftermath of a Siege," Spirit of Missions, XCI (December, 1926), 771.

[81] The extent to which this occurred may be gathered by a comparison of the following American Board materials with those given in footnote 66 as a sample of the use of mission properties by armies in

the buildings than for the Chinese to do so, or for a returning Westerner to recover them promptly.[82] Commanders of both Nationalist and other forces put out protective notices for foreign property, but only part of the time did the soldiers pay them any attention, and the political propagandists who accompanied the Kuomintang heeded them not at all except when local sentiment was strong enough to make it necessary. On Hainan one such proclamation was torn down by students,[83] and in Fukien, Hunan, Honan, and southern Kiangsu some troops disregarded them throughout 1927.[84] However, at Anking, Hangchow, Tsinan,

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the field:

American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LIV, No. 113.
Ibid., Vol. LVII, No. 179.
Ibid., Vol. LXVI, Nos. 82, 84.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. IV, No. 54.
Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 29.

[82] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LIV, No. 18.
"Wuhu Notes," China Christian Advocate, XIV (September 14, 1927), 9.
Anna M. Salquist, "Yachow Notes," West China Missionary News, XXIX (December, 1927), 26-27.
"Conditions in Yachow, Szechwan," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (September, 1927), 601-02.
A. M. Johannsen, "When the Enemy Came in Like a Flood," China's Millions, July, 1927, pp. 126-127.
Palmborg, China Letters, pp. 159-60.

[83] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 14-2, 1926, Annual Report of the Hainan Mission.

[84] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XVIII, No. 326.
Presbyterian U. S. A. Reports: 13-2, 1928, Changsha Station Report.
"Letter from Joseph Wharton," Advent Christian Missions, VII (September, 1927), 285.
C. A. Burch, "A Mid-Summer Visit to Nanking and Chuchow,"

Taian, and Paotingfu it was reported by missionaries present at the time that pronouncements made by the Kuomintang generals took effect more rapidly.[85] Missionaries from Honan to Shantung similarly recorded that northern soldiers obeyed their commanders' posted proclamations.[86]

As the waves of military occupation swept over United States Protestant mission stations, the representatives of the United States government were pressed by missionaries to seek the restoration of

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Advent Christian Missions, VII (October, 1927), 309.

Nels Benson, "From Our Field in Honan," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXVII (March, 1929), 35, 38.

Elsie V. Matti, "News from Luho and Nanking," Friends Oriental News, XVIII (September, 1927), 4.

James E. Bear, "The Futility of Chinese Authority," Presbyterian Survey, XVIII (September, 1928), 559-60.

J. G. Magee, "Nanking Passing through Troublous Days," Spirit of Missions, XCIII (March, 1928), 163.

[85] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XLVI, No. 504.

E. J. Lee, "Anking Revolution and Evacuation," Anking Newsletter, VII (March-June, 1927), 11-12.

"War and Peace at Cheeloo," Cheeloo Sketches, III (January, 1929), 2-3.

F. S. Meader, "The Siege of Taianfu," China Christian Advocate, XV (September, 1928), 12.

R. F. Fitch, "Hangchow Christian College, Hangchow, China," Presbyterian Survey, XVIII (February, 1928), 87.

[86] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 20-2, 1928, Report of Tsining Station.

Presbyterian Library, China Clippings 1925-1929: Station Letter from Tenghsien and Tsining, Fall, 1927.

L. B. Ridgely, "The Church and the Army in Nanking," Spirit of Missions, XCII (May, 1927), 267-68.

Skinsnes, Scalpel and Cross in Honan, p. 149.

their properties.[87] In a note protesting the continued use of American property by Chinese Nationalists after the fall of Peking and reunification of the country, a protest made more vigorous by the Kuomintang's failure to keep several promises previously made that all property so used would quickly be evacuated, United States Minister J. V. A. MacMurray said,

> The American Government has throughout displayed the greatest forbearance in these matters, not desiring by overinsistence upon its rights to hinder the reunification of China and constantly hoping that a change would soon occur and that the several assurances already referred to would be made good.[88]

In Hainan, Honan, Chihli (renamed Hopei), and Shantung, it was 1930 before a few missions were entirely cleared of troops;[89] but such cases were exceptional. By the end of 1928 the bulk of the mission properties were back in the hands of their accustomed tenants.

As an example of a typical mission station's experiences with military occupation during the Northward Expedition, let us look at the Southern Baptists of Yangchow, a small city less than forty miles

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[87] For example:
Presbyterian Library, China Medical: Changteh Hospital, January, 1929.
O. R. Wold, "Shekow Theological Seminary, China," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXV (October, 1927), 154-56.
Skinsnes, Scalpel and Cross in Honan, p. 177.

[88] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1928, II, 251-52.

[89] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LIV, Nos. 7, 33.
Annual Report of the Yihsien Station, 1932, p. 1.
D. S. Tappan, "Dreams Come True," Hainan News Letter, Winter, 1930-31, p. 20.
M. B. Hanson, "Annual Report of the Yenshih District," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXIX (May, 1931), 73.

northeast of Nanking. They had been there since 1891, and had the largest resident station force of the three Protestant missions in the city. By the time Miss M. C. Demerest wrote her account of the station buildings' use by Chinese, all but one had been restored. However, between March 27th, 1927, and June 18th, 1928, during which time the northerners were driven out twice and the southerners once, the hospital and the girls' day school were used for seven months in all by troops of both sides; seven residences, Mackenzie School, and a church housed southerners until the autumn of 1927; one of the residences held a tax collector during the winter, Mackenzie School was used by Nationalist students, and two churches were held until June, 1928, by the Farmers' Union and the Tangpu or political bureau respectively; the hospital launch was taken by the northerners in March, 1927, and not recovered for eleven months; and all the buildings were plundered at least once.[90] Most of the missionaries found similar conditions as they went back to their stations after the evacuations of early 1927--buildings used and re-used, woodwork taken for fuel, furniture and household goods or other movable items vanished, and dirt and litter everywhere.[91]

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[90] M. C. Demerest, "Chinese Occupation of American Southern Baptist Mission Property in the Yanchow Field," New East, XXII (August, 1928), 17-19.

[91] For a few of the exceptions to this statement, see:
E. H. Hume, "All is Well at Yale-in-China," Yali Quarterly, X (September, 1926), 2.
Louise W. Farnam, "The Nationalist Movement as I saw

During the years when mission properties were not only losing their protected position, but acquiring army corps and political organizations as temporary tenants, there was a corresponding decline in the personal safety of the missionaries themselves. As has been pointed out, a number of members of the Kuomintang sought to take over mission institutions by forcing them to close through strikes, demonstrations, and other means of harassing the missions. By some, at least, the use of mission compounds as barracks and headquarters was intended as a step toward their confiscation. Moreover, missionaries as well as their societies' properties were subjected to such tactics, for as has also been noted it was easier to take over mission stations in which no foreigners were resident. From 1925 on, United States Protestant missionaries in many areas of China were threatened and assaulted as the anti-foreign movement gained in strength. Outside of the Kuomintang's domain, E. H. Hume of Yale-in-China learned one day shortly after the Shanghai incident of May 30th, 1925, that the student union in Changsha had made plans to take all the foreigners in the city to the execution ground next morning and shoot them. A telephone call to the

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It," Yali Quarterly, X (March, 1927), 5.

"Contrasting Views on Revolution in South China," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (October, 1927), 670.

"On the Field," Chinese Recorder, LIX (August, 1928), 531, 537.

Cammie Gray, "A Dream Come True," World Call, N. S. X (December, 1928), 34.

Palmborg, China Letters, pp. 161-63.

governor brought guards, so that nothing came of it;[92] but in Wuchang several members of the Central China University staff were molested on the street before special guards were given them.[93] The following June in Chengtu an American Methodist was pulled from her ricksha twice the day after the less fortunate wife of a Canadian Methodist was killed in that city.[94] Within the Kwangtung stronghold of the Nationalist government, A. H. Page of Swatow was assaulted at the close of 1926 because he would not give up the funds he held as treasurer of the American Baptist academy. The students who attacked him then paraded several bandaged youths through the streets, in an attempt to inflame public opinion by claiming he had wounded them.[95] During the Northward Expedition, the action of the Christian schools of Shaowu, Fukien, who in January of 1927 staged their own New Year's parade because they were not invited to join one organized by the newly-entered Kuomintang, brought blows and curses not only on the paraders but on some

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[92] E. H. Hume, Doctors East, Doctors West, pp. 264-65.

[93] Presbyterian Library, China Clippings 1925-1929: Letter for Sunday Schools Supporting Mr. A. A. Bullock, November 3, 1925.
"Bishop Gilman Tells of Disturbances," Spirit of Missions, XC (August, 1925), 461-62.

[94] Methodist Library, Biographical Files: Experiences of Miss Grace Manly.

[95] Letter from Mrs. A. H. Page to author, March 25, 1956.
James H. Franklin, "Glimpses of What is Going on in China," Missions, XVIII (May, 1927), 261.

of their Chinese and American pastors. Nevertheless, as was observed by one of the two American Board missionaries to remain there after February 10th, the soldiers were ordered to annoy but not to kill.[96] In Hunan attempts were made by members of the newly-arrived political bureaus to drive out foreigners by fomenting servants' strikes.[97] Down the Yangtze valley the agitators went, though with little fortune in stirring up the people of Sungkiang against W. B. Burke, who had by then served there for nearly forty years.[98] They traveled northward to Shansi, but again met with slight success at Fenchow.[99] A few United States Protestant missionaries were threatened as they traveled back to their stations in mid-1927,[100] but by the end of the year Chiang's drive against Communist elements in the Kuomintang had

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[96] American Board, ABC: 16.3.7: Vol. I, No. 341.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. I, No. 283.
Ibid., Vol. II, Nos. 73, 178.

[97] Laura M. W. Ulmer, "The Center Front on China's Stage," Evangelical Missionary World, IV (October, 1926), 370-73.
E. A. Beck, "Why Our Missionaries Left Yochow City," Outlook of Missions, XIX (April, 1927), 173-74.

[98] Burke, My Father in China, pp. 334-36.

[99] American Board, ABC: 16.3.14: Vol. II, Nos. 780, 782.

[100] "Tunki," China Christian Advocate, XIV (August 3, 1927), 9.
C. E. Bousfield, "Back in My South China Station," Missions, XVIII (November, 1927), 617.

made Soviet Russians rather than Britons and Americans the favored targets of anti-foreignism among the troops.[101]

Of the six deaths of United States Protestant missionaries caused by Chinese bullets during the years 1923 to 1928, three were accidental results of random firing during sieges,[102] two occurred at the hands of newly victorious individual Nationalist soldiers, and one was the outcome of an unsuccessful attempt at kidnapping. The bullet which ended Mrs. W. T. Hobart's life was fired in the last days of the Northward Expedition, but upon the assurances of Mr. Hobart that her death was attributable to the northern rather than the southern forces, the United States consul did not take up the case. However, the Nationalist commander at Taianfu had already been warned that he would be held strictly responsible if any Americans were killed by his men.[103] The Nationalists attempted to explain the death of American Presbyterian W. F. Seymour at Tsining in mid-April as accidental. Although the United States legation refused to accept such an account, no redress

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[101] Skinsnes, Scalpel and Cross in Honan, pp. 115-17.

[102] Mrs. E. C. Lumpp, "The Siege of Kweilin," South China Alliance Tidings, XVIII (No. 7, 1924), pp. 2-8.
Oldfield, Pioneering in Kwangsi, p. 113.
"Missionary Tragedies in 1926," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (January, 1927), 75.
Skinsnes, Scalpel and Cross in Honan, p. 124.
F. S. Meader, "The Siege of Taianfu," China Christian Advocate, XV (September, 1928), 12.

[103] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1928, II, 266-68.
F. S. Meader, "The Siege of Taianfu," China Christian Advocate, XV (September, 1928), 12.

was obtained for the shooting.[104] J. E. Williams of the University of Nanking had met his death thirteen months before at the hands of one of the soldiers who made March 24th, 1927, memorable for the foreign residents of Nanking.[105] Kidnappers rather than soldiers were the acknowledged culprits, though, in the murder of G. D. Byers at Kachek in June, 1924. In January, 1925, since his vice-consul had not yet succeeded in obtaining the arrest, trial, and punishment of the guilty, or a recompense for the widow and five children, United States Consul-General M. M. Hamilton himself came from Canton to Hainan. By April an indemnity was paid and guarantees given for the future safety of the Kachek missionaries.[106]

The men who fatally wounded Byers when he resisted capture were not the only ones to seek money, arms, position, or the attainment of some other goal by trading a foreigner's safety for what they desired during the years 1923 to 1928. In fact, during the twelve years

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[104] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1928, II, 281-91.
Ibid., 1929, II, 872-74.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 20-2, 1928, Report of Tsining Station.

[105] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1927, II, 146-64, 176-236.
Wheeler, J. E. Williams, p. 175.

[106] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 14-2, 1925, Report of the Hainan Mission.
Hainan Mission Minutes, 1925 (n. p.), pp. 12-16.
Ibid., 1926 (n. p.), pp. 1-2.
D. S. Tappan, "George Douglas Byers--1874-1924," Hainan Newsletter, Summer, 1924, pp. 4-8.
"Visit of the Gunboat Sacramento," Hainan News Letter,

from the kidnapping of Lundeen, Forsberg, and Borg-Breen late in 1922 to the end of 1934, hardly a year passed without the seizure of at least one United States Protestant. Though a tangible ransom was usually demanded, a missionary's captors often used him in an attempt to increase their political power. Missionaries were not the only Westeners affected by this development, as the abducting of nineteen foreign passengers from the Shanghai-Peking express early in 1923 shows. The negotiations for their release, which were not completed for almost six weeks, ended in the acceptance of the brigands into the army.[107] However, the isolation from other foreigners of many missionaries in outlying districts made them natural victims of roving bands. In the closing months of 1923, United States Protestant missionaries in Honan and northern Hupei were again endangered as they had been in 1922 by the activities of kidnappers. The Southern Baptists at Kweiteh dared not leave the city, and one American Lutheran was actually carried off from Tsaoyang. The United States legation took immediate steps to obtain her release.[108] In Kweichow too, a United Evangelical

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Summer, 1924, p. 10.

"Consul Hamilton: An Appreciation," Hainan News Letter, Winter, 1925, pp. 8-9.

[107] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1923, I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938), 631-57.

[108] Ibid., 1926, I, 644.

"Bandits Attack Missionaries," Chinese Recorder, LV (February, 1924), 135.

S. J. Townshend, "Kweiteh Notes," New East, XIX (February, 1924), 22.

missionary was held for ransom for more than five weeks before the efforts of the legation at Peking and the local officials succeeded in freeing him.[109] When four British and American members of the Alliance and American Baptist missions went upriver from Wuchow in May of 1924, they were taken for ransom. A United States vice-consul came to Wuchow to work for the release of Rex Ray and H. G. Miller as his British colleague did for E. H. Carne and R. A. Jaffray. Jaffray and Miller were released after a few days with the bandits' request for guns, ammunition, and money; Ray escaped; but Carne, like Schmalzreid in Kweichow, was ransomed by the local officials after six weeks in captivity.[110] In Fukien, the northern soldiers besieged at Kutien refused to let Miss M. C. Hartford leave because their southern foes would not burn the city while she was still in it, but after six weeks the letters sent to both commanders by the consul at Foochow brought about her release and safe-conduct through the lines.[111] Two years later at

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[109] "An Account of the Kidnapping of Dr. Schmalzreid," Evangelical Missionary World, II (April, 1924), 139-41.
"Letters from Rose L. Felker," Evangelical Missionary World, II (June, 1924), 220.

[110] R. A. Jaffray, "'His Loving-Kindness and Tender Mercy,'" South China Alliance Tidings, XVIII (No. 4, 1924), 2-12.
H. G. Miller, "One Hundred Hours with Chinese Bandits," South China Alliance Tidings, XVIII (No. 5, 1924), 1-12.
E. H. Carne, "Proving His Grace in Bandit Camps," South China Alliance Tidings, XVIII (No. 6, 1924), 2-12.
G. W. Leavell, "A Thrilling Adventure with Chinese Bandits," Home and Foreign Fields, VIII (September, 1924), 23-24.
Rex Ray, "My Experiences among Chinese Bandits," Home and Foreign Fields, VIII (October, 1924), 5-8.

[111] Florence Hooper, "From New Hampshire to Fukien," World Outlook, January, 1954, pp. 34-35.

Sinyang, Honan, it was similarly feared for a time that the soldiers within the city would not allow the foreigners there to leave.[112] Later in 1926 a member of a Free Methodist mission station was taken by Honan bandits near Chenliu, together with several Chinese all of whom were freed before he was released. He was kept as a semi-hostage until the bandits were satisfied that the terms they had won had been promised in good faith.[113] In western Hunan, three United States Protestant missionaries were captured by a band desiring money and revolvers. A vice-consul from Changsha helped to negotiate their release, but this time the missions rather than the local officials paid the ransom money.[114] Nor did the reunification of China put a stop to the seizure of missionaries for ransom, for in September of 1928 Miss B. L. K. Tobin of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society was taken by mistake by bandits who had expected the boat she was in to contain C. J. Lowe of the Southern Baptist Convention and his family.[115]

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[112] "Mission Needs in China," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXIV (May, 1926), 4.

[113] I. S. W. Ryding, "Twelve Days with Chinese Brigands," The Missionary Tidings, XXX (December, 1926), 222-23.

[114] "Two of Our Missionaries in China Captured by Bandits," Outlook of Missions, XVIII (October, 1926), 457-58.

"Our Missionaries and the Bandits," Outlook of Missions, XVIII (December, 1926), 550-51.

K. H. Beck, "Seventeen Days with Chinese Bandits," Outlook of Missions, XIX (September-November, 1927), 405-11, 453-60, 483-86.

[115] "Notes from China," New East, XXII (December, 1928), 23-24.

The personal safety of the United States Protestant missionary remained a matter of great concern to his government's representatives in China throughout the troubled years 1929 to 1935. Of the forty-eight Protestant missionaries of all nationalities listed by the Chinese Recorder as kidnapped or killed between August, 1929, and December, 1934,[116] at least eleven (including four deaths) engaged the attention and effort of the American consuls or their superiors.[117] Many kidnappings, whatever immediate desire for money or supplies might be expressed, had in them the element of desire to embarrass or to put pressure on the Chinese government noted by Minister Nelson T. Johnson in 1932 when he wrote,

> The Chinese Government is bending every effort to reestablish its authority [in the communist-dominated areas] . . . and to that end has within recent days sent increased forces to suppress banditry and communism there. It is, therefore, obvious that it will be to the advantage of roving communist bands to seize foreigners and hold them as hostages in the hope of paralyzing the government's efforts.[118]

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[116] "Protestant Captives and Martyrs, August, 1929, to December, 1934," Chinese Recorder, LXVI (November, 1935), 704-06.

[117] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1930, II, 98-100, 197-205, 210, 216, 218-20.
Ibid., 1931, III, 934-44, 953, 957, 959-63, 975-77, 979-80.
Ibid., 1932, IV, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948), 470, 486, 519-20, 530, 538.
Ibid., 1933, III, 526-27, 558, 718-32.
Ibid., 1934, III, 464, 479-83, 485-89.
Ibid., 1935, III, 667, 670-77.

[118] Ibid., 1932, IV, 520.

Between 1929 and 1934 the Communists justified Johnson's words by abducting eleven United States Protestant missionaries alone, as well as many other Protestants and a large number of Roman Catholics of all nationalities.[119] Three of the United States Protestants they took were killed,[120] and only one achieved freedom through escape rather

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[119] Ibid., 1929, II, 460-64.
Ibid., 1930, II, 98-100, 204-20.
Ibid., 1931, III, 934-44, 953-80.
Ibid., 1932, IV, 470, 486, 519-20, 530, 538.
Ibid., 1933, III, 718-32.
Ibid., 1934, III, 479-83.
"Notes," Honan Quarterly, III (October, 1934), 18.
"Ho Lung the Noted Communist General Captures Missionary in Szechwan," West China Missionary News, XXXVI (July, 1934), 14-18.
"Work and Workers," Chinese Recorder, LX (July-August, 1929), 473-74, 539-40.
"Work and Workers," Chinese Recorder, LXII (May, 1931), 333.
"Perils and Bandits," Chinese Recorder, LXIII (August, 1932), 520.
Miss Nina E. Gemmell, "Our Capture by Communists," China's Millions, September, 1930, pp. 141-42.
Grace Emblem, "Delivered from the Reds," China's Millions, January, 1935, pp. 11-12.
"At Home and Abroad," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXX (October, 1932), 149.
"Alarming News from China," Missionary Monthly, XXXII (June, 1929), 262.
Carlberg, Thirty Years in China, pp. 191-92.
Tvedt, In Captivity.

[120] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1932, IV, 538.
Ibid., 1934, III, 479-83, 485-89.
Ibid., 1935, III, 667-77.
Lee S. Huizenga, John and Betty Stam--Martyrs (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Press, 1935), pp. 65-74.
Tvedt, In Captivity, pp. 204-06.

than by negotiations.[121] During those years Poseh, Kwangsi, was the one place where it was recorded that they left a town in which they had found United States Protestant missionaries without taking any along with them.[122] However, they were not alone in trading on the safety of United States Protestants in China. In 1929 at Tungchang, Chihli (Hopei), two men of the National Holiness mission station there were taken along by a departing bandit army in order to discourage the efforts of their pursuers.[123] To the south, a rebellious general of Fukien detained forty-two Protestant missionaries at Yenping as they sought to leave the upper Min River basin in 1930, lest his Nationalist foes bomb the city. Finally the British and American consuls forced his hand by going upriver in person to bring them the rest of the way to Foochow. The consuls assumed correctly that he would hardly dare to deny a personal request by the official representatives of the missionaries' governments.[124] At the end of the following year a former army commander captured a Methodist Episcopal missionary of Haitang, Fukien, and made his restoration to his former position the price of her

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[121] "News Bits," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXXII (September, 1934), 142.
"Notes," Honan Quarterly, III (October, 1934), 18.

[122] W. C. Newbern, "The Reign of the Reds," The Tidings, XXIV (April, 1930), 1-3, 10-15.

[123] Troxel, Cecil Troxel, pp. 182-83.

[124] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1930, II, 137, 141, 148-49, 196.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 91, 327.
"Yenping News--Missionaries Safe," China Christian

release;[125] but the most ambitious desire of any of the non-Communists who held United States Protestant missionaries between 1929 and 1934 was that of a Peiping University graduate. In 1933 he took Niels Nielson from Siuyen at the base of the Liaotung peninsula in the hope either of procuring arms, ammunition, and the wherewithal to form a small army, or of starting a war between Japan and the United States.[126]

Even in the years after 1929, therefore, the position of the United States Protestant missionary continued to be used by Chinese involved in civil strife. However, it was those outside the circle of the established regime who sought by endangering his life to further their struggle for position. So low had the "prestige of power" of Western nationals in China sunk by the opening of 1929 that they were regarded as mere pawns to be used in attempts to frustrate the central government's attempts to put down rebellion. The events of 1923 to 1928 had shown the Chinese that their position with respect to the West had changed.

Advocate, XVII (September, 1930), 11.

"Missionaries Rescued," Chinese Recorder, LXI (September, 1930), 602.

[125] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1931, III, 979-80.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XXVI, No. 304.

Martha McCutcheon, "Christmas with the Bandits," China Christian Advocate, XIX (February, 1932), 8-9.

[126] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1933, III, 718-32.

Niels Nielson, "Held Captive for Six Months by Chinese Bandits," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXXII (May, 1934), 69-73.

For the anti-foreign riots of the late nineteenth century which culminated in the Boxer uprising, Western powers had exacted retribution from the Manchus. For the anti-foreign acts of the mid-1920's, very little recompense was made to Western nationals by those in power in the area where the strike, demonstration, riot, or attack occurred--yet vengeance was not forthcoming. Chinese thereupon lost their fear that effective punishment would be meted out for the molestation of foreigners. Missionaries all over China attested to the effects of this development upon their safety; but they were not alone in noticing it. It was constantly in the minds of the United States diplomatic officials who negotiated with China's rulers between 1923 and 1937 for a revision of the treaty relations between the two nations which would be satisfactory to both parties.[127] The new attitude of the Chinese was epitomized in the statement of the Anhwei commissioner of foreign affairs to the United States consul at Nanking in response to the latter's request for indemnification of two missionaries' losses during the Northward Expedition:

> Both Chinese and foreigners have met with the same misfortune during the revolutions in China, and the Chinese Government has not reimbursed its own citizens for any losses suffered thereby. Foreigners have no right to enjoy more privileges than the Chinese enjoy. Therefore, the National Government is not responsible for the reimbursement of the losses suffered by M. C. Fellow and J. K. Shryock.[128]

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[127] Fishel, pp. 75-198, passim.

[128] Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: St. John's Pocket File No. 113, China-Reparations, Translation of a Note from Lu Chun-fang, September 16, 1929. Italics mine.

Even so, the Kuomintang found it desirable to avoid international complications. Therefore, the enemies of the newly-recognized Kuomintang administration were able to utilize threats to Westerners as a means of forcing the Kuomintang to redeploy its men in unstrategic patterns, so as to forestall diplomatic protests by living up to the protective provisions of the few Western treaties it admitted to be in effect.[129]

As we have seen, from 1923 on the diplomatic and consular officials of the United States in China continued their efforts on behalf of their fellow-countrymen. Once an attack of any description had taken place, they were insistent upon redress, though redress was only infrequently forthcoming.[130] Both general and specific requests to

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[129] For published documents relating to one example of this and showing the attitude of the United States Department of State toward the phenomenon, see:

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1929, II, 504.

Ibid., 1930, II, 81-84, 93-98, 101-10, 122, 134-36, 162, 166-69, 174, 207-08, 211, 215.

Ibid., 1931, III, 965-69.

Ibid., 1932, IV, 473-79, 488.

[130] American Board, ABC: 16.3.6: Vol. V, L. J. Christian general letter of October 27, 1926.

Minutes of the South China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1926 (n. p.), p. 24.

"Yenping Notes," China Christian Advocate, XI (March, 1924), 4.

"Experience with Bandits in Szechwan," China Christian Advocate, XII (August, 1925), 8-9.

"The South Fukien Annual Conference," China Christian Advocate, XII (December, 1925), 17.

M. R. Melrose, "Bandits," Hainan News Letter, Autumn,

ensure the safety of Americans or American missionaries were made,[131] but the chief concern of the official representatives of the United States as the tide of anti-foreign propaganda rolled over China became to remove Americans from places of actual or potential danger.[132] The urgency of their insistent demands for the departure of all Americans had much to do with the almost complete withdrawal from the Yangtze basin made by United States Protestant missionaries during the spring

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1923, p. 5.

D. H. Thomas, "Robbed on a River Boat," Hainan News Letter, Summer, 1926, pp. 30-31.

"Batang," West China Missionary News, XXVII (November, 1925), 36.

"Missionary Tragedies in 1926," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (January, 1927), 75.

Ernest and Sophia Merian, "At Work under Adverse Conditions," Evangelical Missionary World, III (August, 1925), 287-88.

E. D. Smith, "Missionaries Robbed," Home and Foreign Fields, VIII (March, 1924), 37.

Anna C. A. Kok, "My First Trek in Shantung," Missionary Monthly, XXX (February, 1927), 77-78.

Sara Z. Myers, "China Notes," Missionary Visitor, XXV (July, 1923), 264.

Idem, "China Notes," Missionary Visitor, XXV (October, 1923), 376.

"Beaten by Chinese Bandits," Missions, XVIII (January, 1927), 36.

L. Scarlett, "Held Prisoner by Pirates," New East, XX (November, 1926), 1-10.

Troxel, Cecil Troxel, pp. 166-68.

Tvedt, In Captivity, p. 140.

[131] For example:

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1925, I, 751.
Ibid., 1926, I, 643, 694.
Ibid., 1927, II, 59-71, 189.
Ibid., 1928, II, 250.

[132] Ibid., 1927, II, 236-316.
Ibid., 1928, II, 254-81.

of 1927.[133] Throughout the years preceding the Japanese invation of 1937 both consular and diplomatic staffs continued to promote the evacuation of troubled areas.[134]

The general change in their position was felt by the missionaries. As one member of the American Board said,

> The steadily growing antiforeign feeling has made the foreigner an object of attack rather than one to be respected.[135]

His sentiment was echoed in three sentences penned by two men of the Evangelical Church's mission in Hunan.

> During the past twelve months a great change has taken place. Formerly the person and property of the foreigner had been rather exempt from the looting soldiers. Now he seems to be the chosen victim.[136]

A later writer described conditions in these words:

> There is no longer any question about the status of the missionary. He has the same rights and the same treatment as the Chinese citizens of his own class. . . . We have members of our group

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[133] Latourette, p. 820.

[134] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1929, II, 449-50.
Ibid., 1930, II, 101-217, passim.
Ibid., 1932, IV, 464, 521, 537.
Ibid., 1933, III, 529-32, 556-57.
Ibid., 1934, III, 474-75.
Ibid., 1935, III, 666-695, passim.
Ibid., 1936, IV (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1954), 503-31, passim.
Ibid., 1937, IV (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1954), 551-56.

[135] American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. I, No. 179.

[136] "I. R. Dunlap and C. C. Talbott," Chinese Recorder, LVIII (September, 1927), 601.

> looted, our houses burned or torn down, and occasionally a few are killed, and beyond a slight stir in the newspapers and a mild protest, we are on a level with the oppressed multitudes with whom we have identified ourselves.[137]

Nevertheless, even at the worst moments of the storms of 1925 to 1927 some United States Protestant missionaries found that their connection with the United States shielded them from the perils faced by British or French nationals. It was not the enveloping cloak of foreign nationality which protected them, as when robbers near Huchow had let Americans go past unscathed in 1923 and 1924,[138] but the fact that they were not associated with the incidents of 1925 at Shanghai and Canton. On Hainan, the author of the American Presbyterian mission report for 1925 wrote of that summer,

> There seemed to be a pretty clear distinction between Americans and British all the time, and we had a smile over our Canadian member. When asked if he were an "American country man" (the usual term for a person from the United States) he replied that he was from the "American Continent," and was given a clean sheet.[139]

In the Yangtze valley, too, the Protestant Episcopal group at Anking was saved from a riot by non-Christian Chinese friends who stressed their nationality as well as their years of service to the community.[140]

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[137] American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. VI, No. 38.

[138] Letters from Miss Sue Stanford to author, November 16 and December 5, 1956.

[139] Presbyterian U. S. A. Reports: 14-2, 1925, Report of the Hainan Mission.

[140] Alice Gregg, "Anxious Days in Anking," Anking Newsletter,

In Chungking, when all British nationals left in July, 1925, their American neighbors were not only safe themselves, but able to save some of their British friends' belongings from the looting that followed the latters' departure.[141] Even during the march of the Northward Expedition, despite all the lurid anti-foreign propaganda that the political commissars used to inflame the minds of both the armies and the general populace, an American Board member was able to win his life from a band of Kuomintang soldiers who were preparing to shoot him as an Englishman.[142] In Nanking, on the very day after the city fell on March 24th, 1927, to a highly anti-foreign army of Hunanese Nationalists, the soldiers who stopped and searched a University of Nanking staff member on the street were persuaded to let him go by his Chinese companions' insistence that he was American.[143] Near Hangchow, American Presbyterian R. F. Fitch was allowed to proceed by a man who had stopped the bicycling foreigner in the expectation of being able

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V (June, 1925), 112.

Alice H. Gregg, By the Anking Pagoda (Sumter, S. C.: Sumter Printing Company, 1948), pp. 95-96.

[141] "News Notes: Chungking," West China Missionary News, XXVII (August-September, 1925), 32-33.

[142] W. H. Judd, "Love--the Way to Victory," The Missionary Monthly, XXXVI (May, 1932), 12-13.

[143] United Board: Nanking, Box 51, Notes on Nanking, Harry Clemons, March 27, 1927.

to kill a British imperialist but was less willing to take the life of an American;[144] and at Tenghsien, Shantung, the leaders of the entering Nationalist army expressed great satisfaction at learning that there were only Americans in the Presbyterian station there.[145]

It was in part this continued aura of United States prestige that enabled United States Protestant missions to afford protection to Chinese caught in the path of civil conflict up until the final weeks of the collapse of Chang Tso-lin's forces. Nevertheless, it should be stressed again that after 1924 no effective shelter could be given in any mission enclosure from the forces of the Kuomintang and its allies, since they were indoctrinated with the belief that mission property, being foreign, should be taken over immediately by the Chinese. Consequently, as has been shown, they utilized it themselves. They even expelled the refugees whom they did find in some of the mission compounds. Moreover, the core of the Nationalist forces not only avoided billeting themselves in Chinese homes but behaved otherwise on an appreciably higher ethical plane than had their warlord predecessors' troops,[146] For

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[144] Robert F. Fitch, "China," Presbyterian Banner, June 9, 1927, p. 22.

[145] W. M. Hayes, "A Letter from War Scenes in China," Presbyterian Banner, June 21, 1928, p. 3.

[146] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XLIV, No. 311. Interview with Dr. Bruce Jarvis, May 10, 1956.
"Letters from W. R. Johnson at Nanchang," China Christian Advocate, XIII (December, 1926), 21-22.
Burke, My Father in China, p. 322.
Wilbur and How, p. 201.

these reasons, very few Chinese after 1925 fled to missions as the Kuomintang approached.[147] However, that did not prevent them from seeking protection from other soldiers. If the commander in question respected foreign property, either out of fear of foreign intervention or in hope of gaining foreign support, noncombatants continued to be able to find the safety they desired. Mission compounds in the four southern provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kweichow, and Hunan ceased to afford any shelter to their neighbors after the opening months of 1925.[148] In the struggles of the warlords of eastern China during 1924 and 1925, however, the pattern of refuge-taking which had developed

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[147] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XLV, No. 406.
United Board: Nanking, Box 51, R. J. Pryor, March 24, 1927.

[148] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 26-2, 1924, Linchow Station Report.
Ernest and Sophia Merian, "Conditions at Chenki," Evangelical Missionary World, II (June, 1924), 217-18.
Idem, "At Work under Adverse Conditions," Evangelical Missionary World, III (August, 1925), 287-88.
H. S. Frank, "Conditions at Tungjen," Evangelical Missionary World, III (September, 1925), 332-33.
The American Presbyterian stations on Hainan, which did not fall to the Kuomintang until 1926, were the one exception found in the research for this study. For their use as asylums early in 1926, see:
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 14-2, 1926, Annual Report of the Hainan Mission.
Ibid., 14-2, 1926, Report of Nodoa Station.
Mary H. Taylor, "Hundreds Take Refuge in Nodoa Compound," Hainan News Letter, Summer, 1926, p. 34.
M. R. Melrose, "Sunshine and Shadows in Nodoa," Hainan News Letter, Fall, 1926, pp. 7-9.

in previous years continued with hardly a change.[149] The same could be said of the duel between Feng Yu-hsiang and Chang Tso-lin in the north from 1924 to 1926.[150] In fact, as was mentioned in passing earlier in

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[149] American Baptist Foreign Mission Society files: 639 (C 26919), Charles D. Leach, February 13, 1925.

Methodist Library, Biographical Files: Nell Davis Drake, "My Years in China" (manuscript).

Methodist Women, General Correspondence: Nell D. Drake, October 13, 1924.

Ibid., Maggie J. Rogers, November 14, 1924.

Ibid., Alice G. Waters, October 11 and November 7, 1924.

Presbyterian Library, China Clippings 1925-1929: W. J. Drummond (general letter), February 22, 1925.

Letters from Miss Sue Stanford to author, October 8, 1956.

University of Nanking Bulletin, Vol. VI, No. 21 (n. p.: 1924), pp. 4-5.

"How the War Affects the Work of the Southern Methodist Mission in China," China Christian Advocate, XI (October, 1924), 17-18.

A. A[llison], "Letter from A. A.," Monthly Messenger, XVI (March, 1925), 1675.

A. L. H., "Letter from A. L. H.," Monthly Messenger, XVI (March, 1925), 1676.

"Letter from J. B. Hipps," Home and Foreign Fields, VIII (November, 1924), 29.

A. I. Nasmith, "The Looting of Huchow," Missions, XVI (January, 1925), 28-29.

Mrs. T. C. Britton, "Wusih, S. B. C.," New East, XX (April, 1925), 29-30.

Andrew Allison, "War Experiences at Kiangyin, China," Presbyterian Survey, XV (June, 1925), 374-76.

J. B. Woods, "Hospitals in Times of Peace and War," Presbyterian Survey, XIX (February, 1929), 88.

"News from the Seat of War in China," Spirit of Missions, LXXXIX (December, 1924), 801.

C. M. Lee, "Refugees Throng St. Andrew's Hospital, Wusih," Spirit of Missions, XC (January, 1925), 9-10.

"Wusih, a Walled City of Refuge," Spirit of Missions, XC (April, 1925), 207-09.

H. A. McNulty, "The Story of Soochow Academy," Spirit of Missions, XCIII (January, 1928), 30.

Burke, My Father in China, pp. 295-307.

[150] American Board, ABC: 16.3.7: Vol. II, Nos. 185,

this chapter, during the Northward Expedition of 1926 to 1928 mission stations in the path of the retreating northern forces from Wuchang to

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276, 283.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXVIII, Nos. 55, 56, 129, 140, 141, 142, 150.

Ibid., Vol. XXXIX, No. 290.

Ibid., Vol. XLIII, No. 254.

Ibid., Vol. XLVII, No. 441.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.13: Vol. V, A. M. Huggins letters, No. 6.

Ibid., Vol. IV, Alice Browne Frame letters, No. 6.

Ibid., Vol. IV, Abbie G. Chapin letters, No. 2.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.14: Vol. II, No. 764.

Ibid., Vol. III, No. 286.

Methodist Library, Biographical Files: Spencer Lewis diary, 1923, p. 59.

Methodist Library, Project Files: "History of the Shantung Annual Conference," pp. 48-49.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 19-2, 1925, Paotingfu Station Report.

Ibid., 19-2, 1926, Annual Report of the Peking Station.

Ibid., 19-2, 1926, Report for 1926 for Truth Hall Academy.

Ibid., 19-2, 1926, Shuntehfu Station Report.

Presbyterian Library, Mission and Station Reports: Historical Sketch of the Chefoo Station (manuscript), pp. 15-16.

Letters from Paul R. Abbott to author, September 14 and 20, 1956.

Letters from B. M. Flory to author, September 19 and November 29, 1956.

Letter from Miss Anna M. Hutchison to author, October 5, 1956.

Letters from Miss E. E. Kreps to author, September 25 and October 8, 1956.

Interview with Mrs. Richard E. Jenness, May 5, 1956.

Annual Report of the Ichowfu Station of the Shantung Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1926 (n. p.), pp. 5-8.

Weihsien Station Report (Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.: 1926), p. 5.

Report of the President of Shantung Christian University, 1925-26 (Tsinan: University Press, 1926), pp. 29-30.

Report of the School of Medicine of Shantung Christian University, 1926 (Tsinan: University Press, 1926), p. 9.

P. O. H[anson], "Shantung Notes," China Christian

Kalgan were still able to shelter those whose homes were plundered by the defeated troops.[151] Sometimes missions even took in individual

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Advocate, XIII (January, 1926), 17.

"Shantung Notes," China Christian Advocate, XIII (February, 1926), 20-21.

China Council Bulletin, No. 58 (April 10, 1956), p. 224.

"Kiating," West China Missionary News, XXVII (July, 1925), 34-35.

"Working amidst Fighting," Chinese Recorder, LV (January, 1924), 58.

A. G. Adams, "Extratentonality and the Missionary in an Interior City," Chinese Recorder, LVII (January, 1926), 49-53.

"As Some Missionaries See the Present Situation," Chinese Recorder, LVII (March, 1926), 220.

C. Barratt, "The Destruction of Pochow," Home and Foreign Fields, X (March, 1926), 28-30.

M. L. King, "Pochow Recovering from Bandits' Raid," Home and Foreign Fields, X (October, 1926), 29-30.

"Letter from Frieda M. Sprunger," Mission Quarterly, III (November, 1926), 11-12.

Erik Soderbom, "Story of the Looting in Kalgan," Missionary Record, XXXIX (February, 1925), 19-20.

"The War in China," The Missionary Tidings, XXIX (March, 1925), 44.

Olivia D. Ikenbery, "China Notes," Missionary Visitor, XXVIII (March, 1926), 71-72.

Mrs. Leland Brubaker, "China Notes," Missionary Visitor, XXVIII (April, 1926), 111-12.

[151] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XL, No. 222.

Ibid., Vol. XLI, No. 66.

Ibid., Vol. XLIII, Nos. 274, 277.

Ibid., Vol. XLVI, Nos. 497, 503.

Methodist Women, General Correspondence: Nell D. Drake, March 1, 1927.

Ibid., Alice G. Waters, February 28 and April 18, 1927.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 19-2, 1928, Paotingfu Station Report.

United Board: West China, Box 29, "The Canton Government Moves to Central China," (manuscript of December 11, 1926).

Interview with Dr. Robert T. Henry, May 4, 1956.

D. T. Huntington, "Bishop's Column," Anking Newsletter,

soldiers and officers of both sides.[152] After the fall of Peking, a few Chinese continued during the wars of reunification of 1929 and 1930 to flee to United States Protestant missions.[153] However, it was no

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VII (December, 1926), 27.

R. T. Y. W., "Refugees at the Cathedral School," Anking Newsletter, VII (December, 1926), 30-31.

F. E. L[und], "Letters from F. E. L. at Wuhu," Anking Newsletter, VII (January, 1927), 53-54.

V. H. G[owen], "St. Lioba's, Wuhu," Anking Newsletter, VII (February, 1927), 62.

"A Fine Message from Miss Cassidy," Advent Christian Missions, VII (April, 1927), 145.

"The Latest Word from Our Work in China," Missionary Record, XLII (January, 1928), 5.

"Letter from Mrs. Larson in China," Missionary Record, XLII (April, 1928), 10.

E. H. Clayton, "In the Center of the War Zone in China," Missions, XVIII (April, 1927), 196-98.

"China in War Time Graphically Described," Spirit of Missions, XCII (March, 1927), 170-72.

P. A. Wakefield, "Doctor Tells Inside Story of Wuchang Siege," Spirit of Missions, XCI (December, 1926), 743-44.

C. A. Burch, "War Experiences in Chuchow and Our Other Stations," World Call, N. S. IX (July, 1927), 28-29.

[152] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1928, II, 284.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XL, No. 224.

"War and Peace at Cheeloo," Cheeloo Sketches, III (January 1929), 3.

"Letters from W. R. Johnson at Nanchang," China Christian Advocate, XIII (December, 1926), 21.

E. H. Clayton, Heaven Below (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1944), pp. 61-78.

[153] This was true mainly in Shantung and Hopei, where the struggle was between Kuomintang and militarist forces rather than between factions with the Nationalist camp.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 20-2, 1929, Tengchow Station Report.

Ibid., 20-2, 1930, Station Report of Tsinan Station for

longer possible to trace the progress of a campaign by the accounts of refuge given, as it had been up to 1928. Complaints of the troops' quartering themselves in mission property, rather than reports of sheltering the local population, were what sprang up in the wake of the Nationalist armies after 1923 and of their opponents from 1929 onward. Only in the case of a new weapon of war, the airplane, were mission compounds able to offer safety from Nationalist arms.[154] United States Protestants also continued after 1923 to work for the safety of Chinese who were not within their mission enclosures. They met with success until the Shanghai incident of 1925;[155] but thereafter the

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Quarter Ending September 30.

Minutes of the General Mission Meeting of the Shantung Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1930 (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1930), pp. 86-88.

P. O. Hanson, "The Siege of Taian," China Christian Advocate, XVII (October, 1930), 9-11.

Mrs. J. M. Gaston, "News Notes from Laichow, China," Home and Foreign Fields, XII (December, 1928), 28-29.

H. E. Henke, Medical Work at Shuntehfu (n. p., 1931), pp. 1-9.

[154] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1929, II, 490.

Ibid., 1933, III, 552-53.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 20-2, 1930, Station Report of Tsinan Station, September 30.

Ebba E. Person, "Greetings from Hsuchow," Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXVIII (August, 1930), 115.

H. H. Snuggs, "All Safe in Wuchow," Home and Foreign Fields, XIV (March, 1930), 31.

[155] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XVIII, No. 298.

Ibid., Vol. XIX, No. 52.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.14: Vol. II, No. 380.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. II, No. 293.

A. I. Nasmith, "The Looting of Huchow," Missions, XVI

results of their efforts were negligible.[156]

The missionaries' conflict of conscience with regard to the use of their compounds as miniature foreign concessions offering shelter to Chinese from the wars of their countrymen has been discussed briefly in the preceding two chapters.[157] With the spread of anti-foreign

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(January, 1925), 28-29.

Andrew Allison, "War Experiences at Kiangyin, China," Presbyterian Survey, XV (June, 1925), 374-76.

"News from the Seat of War in China," Spirit of Missions, LXXXIX (December, 1924), 801.

A. Lamberton, "War Victims at St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai," Spirit of Missions, XC (January, 1925), 12.

Burke, My Father in China, pp. 295-300, 309-15.

[156] L. R. C[raighill], "Letter from L. R. C.," Anking Newsletter, VII (November, 1926), 20-21.

C. L. Culpepper, "The Passing of a Faithful Chinese Pastor," Home and Foreign Fields, XI (July, 1927), 31-32.

P. A. Wakefield, "Doctor Tells Inside Story of Wuchang Siege," Spirit of Missions, XCI (December, 1926), 743-44.

L. B. Ridgely, "The Church and the Army in Nanking," Spirit of Missions, XCII (May, 1927), 268.

Clayton, Heaven Below, pp. 67-71.

W. B. Lipphard, Out of the Storm in China (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1932), pp. 20-21.

Skinsnes, Scalpel and Cross in Honan, pp. 142-49.

[157] The direct relationship of the conflict of conscience to the conditions under which missionaries worked, however, is plainly illustrated by the case of a newly-established mission in southwest China. The American Presbyterian missionaries among the Tai tribes of southern Yunnan, having just arrived there in 1922, had first of all to establish the right of their converts to become Christians. Therefore, in experience and action they were more like their nineteenth-century predecessors, whose protection had been given to individual Christians rather than to battle-fleeing families and villages, than they were like their contemporaries in older mission stations. Early in 1925, before the full fury of the anti-foreign propaganda campaign had been unleashed, they procured a proclamation from the provincial

propaganda and of its companions, the anti-Christian and anti-mission movements of the mid-1920's, United States Protestants had to face this issue squarely. It was not only anti-Christians who felt that the privileged position which enabled mission compounds to protect Chinese from each other was a hindrance to the development of a modern state in China. In 1923, Christian leader T. C. Chao had already stated that the Chinese who went to missions for safety thereby caused "loss to the honor and dignity of the nation."[158] Though during the years between

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government of Yunnan setting forth the provisions of Article XIV (the "toleration clause") of the treaty of 1903 between China and the United States with respect to missionaries and converts. Moreover, they saw Chinese magistrates on behalf of persecuted Christians as late as 1931, though no other United States Protestants in China whose records have been studied did more during the 1920's and 1930's than reassure the civil authorities as to a man's character. Thus, where circumstances were such that reliance upon a treaty provision was still felt to serve only the purpose for which it was originally intended, namely the protection of the freedom of conscience of a Chinese subject who chose to become a Christian, the missionaries' own consciences were free from the question of whether or not they might thereby be setting up an imperium in imperio.

Presbyterian Library, China--Shantung and Yunnan: Station Letter from Kiulungkiang, Spring, 1925.

Yunnan Mission Station Reports, 1926 (n. p.), p. 18.

Ibid., 1927-28 (n. p.), p. 19.

Ibid., 1930-31 (n. p.), p. 5.

China Council Bulletin, No. 128 (November 20, 1931), p. 533.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LVIII, No. 187.

Methodist Library, Biographical Files: Spencer Lewis diary, 1924, p. 178.

Letters from E. H. Giedt to author, March 26 and April 10, 1956.

B. M. Tonkin, "A Trip on the Foo," The Tidings, XXIV (April, 1930), 16.

[158]"The Church in China and International Arrangements," Chinese Recorder, LV (April, 1924), 243.

1923 and 1928 a number of United States Protestants joined the ranks of those who refused to shelter men[159] or belongings[160] and though they continued as before to turn down requests to put American flags and consular notices on non-mission properties,[161] nevertheless, as they themselves pointed out, it was the Chinese who sought their guardianship rather than the missionaries who requested consular assistance. As one Methodist in Shantung remarked,

> The local people are all seeking protection either in the mission compound or at least want the protection of an arm band bearing the name "Methodist Mission" both in Chinese and English. Of course we do not hand these things out indiscriminately but it is a fine illustration of the nationals here seeking foreign help rather than the missionaries seeking any special privileges from consular agents or relying in any way upon extrality rights.[162]

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[159] For example:
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XXXVIII, No. 142.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 19-2, 1925, Paotingfu Station Report.
Ibid., 19-2, 1928, Paotingfu Station Report.
Report of the President of Shantung Christian University, 1925-26, p. 30.

[160] For example:
American Board, ABC: 16.3.7: Vol. II, No. 283.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. X, No. 569.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. V, Mrs. Elizabeth Stelle letters, No. 1.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.14: Vol. II, No. 764.
Letter from Ernest D. Vaniman to author, October 23, 1956.
"Kiating," West China Missionary News, XXVII (July, 1925), 34-35.

[161] For example:
A. G. Adams, "Extraterritoriality and the Missionary in an Interior City," Chinese Recorder, LVII (January, 1926), 51-52.

[162] "Shantung Notes," China Christian Advocate, XIII (February, 1926), 20-21.

Similarly, a Presbyterian at Tsinan reported,

> After the anti-foreign and anti-Christian feeling of last summer, it has been an important, if involuntary, tribute to us Americans and to the respect for our Government and for our religion, that, during the threats of incendiarism from within and the threats of loot from without, the people of all classes were eager to secure asylum with us. In spite of the agitation for the abolition of extra-territoriality, the shelter of our compound was altogether desirable. Those seeking refuge were almost entirely people outside the Christian fold.[163]

Only at Tientsin was it recorded that United States Protestants actually stopped flying the American flag during civil strife. There, W. R. Leete of the American Board wrote,

> Many of the Chinese of Hopei are moving into the concessions, but of course we shall stay where we are. They are asking us to raise the American flag and establish a refuge in Hopei, but of course we shall do nothing of the kind. China has suffered and is suffering enough from foreign interference without the church soiling her fingers in the outrage and approving by the use of a foreign flag, of the presence of armed forces in China. . . .[164]

After the victory of the Kuomintang, missionaries accepted the derogation of their special privileges almost with thankfulness, since it came about as a result of the process of China's reunification. As G. W. Shepherd at Shaowu stated in July of 1931,

> The days of special protection for missions and their institutions are fast disappearing. There is a striking contrast between the

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[163] Report of the Fifty-Fourth Year of the Tsinan Station of the American Presbyterian Mission, 1925-1926 (n. p.).
See also:
Annual Report of the Ichowfu Station, 1925-1926, p. 5.
"As Some Missionaries See the Present Situation," Chinese Recorder, LVII (March, 1926), 220.

[164] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. XLIV, No. 55.

present state of affairs and the days when hundreds of refugees from the community, in addition to the Christians, crowded into the mission compounds for safety. . . .

Extrality, so far as missions are concerned, has been abolished. This is as it should be under the circumstances.[165]

The years 1923 to 1928 were a time of physical and emotional turmoil. During this period of civil strife the Chinese were torn in their attitude toward the prestige of United States Protestant missionaries and other resident foreigners between the desire to use it for protection as they had done in previous years and the desire to put an end to the special privileges on which it rested. Within the Kuomintang camp there was no compromise. The foreigner was treated no better than the Chinese, and frequently felt himself to be the butt of attack. As a result, his ability to protect Chinese was shorn away as soon as his district came under the rule of the Nationalists. Within the area controlled by the enemies of the Kuomintang and its allies the situation was much like that of former years. The foreigner was carefully protected in the hope of winning his government's support for the status quo. Yet the fury which shook all China in 1925 over the incidents at Shanghai and Canton, and which was one of the factors that led to the success of the Northward Expedition in the following three years, meant that even though Chinese in the central and northern provinces continued to put themselves under mission protection as long as the dominant

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[165] American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. II, No. 11. Ibid., Vol. III, No. 38.

power in the area was one which in its own interests sought to safeguard the missionary, many of them were like the Szechwanese of whom Spencer Lewis jotted in his diary that they "are influenced by the anti-foreign and anti-Christian propaganda, and are displeased because I will not have to do with official cases."[166] Nor can this be thought remarkable. When at least one member of the anti-Christian movement ran into an American mission compound to escape the police who were pursuing him; when students who protested the unequal treaties chose to travel with a missionary because the bandits of Fukien still left foreigners unmolested; when in the same province a man who had just been fulminating against foreigners promptly told the robbers who stopped the boat on which he, a number of other Chinese, and an American Board missionary were traveling that he was one of the missionary's students[167] --surely it was not strange that those not directly concerned in pro-nationalist movements did not take the propagandists' strictures on the use of foreign compounds as asylums too seriously. Had not Sun Yat-sen himself lived in Shanghai more than once?

It was this ambivalent state of mind that gave to the years 1923 to 1928, and more especially 1925 to 1927, their peculiar character within

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[166] Methodist Library, Biographical Files: Spencer Lewis diary, 1925, p. 159.

[167] Confidential interview with former member of anti-Christian movement.

"As Some Missionaries See the Present Situation," Chinese Recorder, LVII (March, 1926), 223.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. II, No. 345.

the era of the missions' service as refuges in civil strife. In the years 1911 to 1917, when the Peking government retained some degree of effectiveness in all the provinces of China, the mission had become established as a place of safety during rebellion against a government which was careful to preserve it. During the next six years of partisan struggles which though nominally rebellions were in fact a series of wars between relatively well-balanced factions, all sides respected the mission except in isolated instances. The period 1917 to 1923 was in truth the heyday of its use during warfare between Chinese. However, from 1923 onward the constant harping of propagandists south and north on the single note of imperialism prepared the way for the establishment of a government which wished only to do away with the special privileges that underlay the ability of the mission compound to act as a refuge. Though the champions of the old order continued to protect foreign property, hoping against hope to retain the recognition of the Western world, the proponents of the new sought either to make it Chinese or to give it the same status as its Chinese neighbors. As they took over the stage and in turn split into warring factions, the mission's ability to protect Chinese during internecine struggles ceased abruptly.

CHAPTER VII

THE REVIVAL OF THE MISSIONS' INVIOLABILITY, 1937-1941

In the years preceding 1928, the freedom from molestation by outlaws or (under the guise of martial law and wartime necessity) by soldiers which after 1900 had characterized the position of Western nationals in China diminished to the vanishing point. This was not the result of a change in the degree of respect given by individual Chinese to individual Westerners according to the degree of moral stamina the latter displayed. Rather, it was because in the months from the Shanghai incident to the end of the Northward Expedition the Chinese became convinced that the West would not use force to insist upon the continuance of the special privileges that had been granted by treaty to foreign residents. The lawless elements of Chinese society, and the organized opponents of the recognized government, thereafter gave to foreigners no more consideration than they did to Chinese, while the policy of the central government was to give similar treatment to all within its borders.

Though the Chinese no longer feared to endanger the security of foreigners in their midst, it was quite another matter for the Japanese who entered Chinese territory after the seizure of Manchuria

in 1931 to mistreat foreigners. The danger of drawing Britain, France, or the United States into the conflict in the Far East was too great for Japan to risk incurring the enmity of their nationals in China. Even in a minor incident after the Japanese occupation of Hangchow, when the foreign staff of Hangchow Christian College notified the military police that sentries at the city gate had been taking bottles of milk from the college dairyman on his way into the city, the chief concern of the officer who came to the campus to apologize was to see that the matter did not go to the United States consulate or to the American press.[1] Japanese anxiety to avert international complications produced a climate in which it was again possible for United States Protestant missionaries to shelter their Chinese neighbors from the horrors of war and occupation. Not only were the invaders aware of the inadvisability of offending the West; the defenders recognized the assistance that Europeans and Americans could and did render to the people of China by using to the limit the privileges which they still possessed.

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[1] E. H. Clayton, "Conditions in Hangchow," Missions, XXX (January, 1939), 363.

For this specifically-described incident, a full citation has been made. However, in the documentation given for the more general statements made in this chapter, references to periodical articles will be made by stating the name of the periodical, the volume number, the month and year of issue, and the pertinent page number or numbers, omitting the authors and titles of the articles. In the large number of materials out of which the information leading to the formulation of these general statements has been drawn, the documentation as a whole has been felt to be more important than the detailed description of each component item.

As in Shantung in 1914 and 1928, so in the years following 1931 the Chinese flocked to United States Protestant mission enclosures for safety whenever the Japanese appeared. Though formerly those who fled the Japanese had been counted by tens and hundreds, in the 1930's they were numbered in the thousands.

When the Chinese spirit of resistance to Japan produced a brief Japanese incursion into the Shanghai area early in 1932, not only the foreign settlement but various mission-owned buildings outside its boundaries sheltered Chinese.[2] A year later, when the Japanese invasion of eastern Hopei stopped just short of Peiping, within the war area itself[3] and in the eastern suburb of Peiping[4] many came to mission properties for refuge. The Tunghsien American Board compound was given a marble monument in gratitude by the city in 1934.[5] By the end

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[2] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LX, No. 67.
Methodist Women, General Correspondence: L. J. Webb, March 24, 1932.
Bible for China, No. 57 (May, 1932), p. 48.
Chinese Recorder, LXIII (August, 1932), 526-27.
Ibid., LXIV (June, 1933), 398.

[3] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXII, No. 163.
China Christian Advocate, XX (June, 1933), 3.
Ibid., XXI (September, 1934), 17.
Missionary Record, XLVI (June, 1933), 12.

[4] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LI, Nos. 29, 71.
Ibid., Vol. LIV, No. 111.
Ibid., Vol. LXI, No. 237.
Ibid., Vol. LXII, Nos. 87, 236.

[5] Ibid., Vol. LXIII, No. 326.

of 1936, Japan's continued encroachments in the northeast had forced a rapprochement between the Kuomintang and the Communists--which the outcome of the previous alliance of 1923 to 1927 had taught both sides to regard as merely the prelude to a final struggle for the control of China.

After the Japanese used the Lukouchiao incident as an excuse to capture Peiping, the united stand of resistance taken by the Chinese decided the invaders to attack the Yangtze valley as well. The Japanese armies in the autumn of 1937 began a two-pronged drive to bring the lower and middle Yangtze under their control by sending expeditions up the Yangtze and down the Peiping-Hankow railway. A year later these two rejoined in the siege of Hankow. By October of 1938 Canton as well as Hankow had fallen; but the effort to capture for more than a few days or months centers such as Changsha or Foochow went on until after the entry of the United States into the Pacific war. As the Japanese armies moved over the face of China between 1937 and 1941, mission stations and country chapels in the areas they entered were thronged with terrified Chinese. The refugees' fears more often than not were justified by the conduct of some of their conquerors; but their hope also more often than not was fulfilled in the relative safety found within the missions' walls. British and American nationals were the most successful in protecting those who came to them, for their privileges had never been formally disallowed by China. Moreover, under the

circumstances of undeclared war, the Japanese were constrained to be more solicitous of their safety and opinions than of those of citizens of powers whose influence in the Pacific was relatively slight. With the entry into the war against Japan of Britain and the United States, the ability of British and American missionaries to protect the inhabitants of occupied China vanished overnight. The revolution in the status of the United States Protestant missionary in occupied China on December 8th, 1941, from privileged Westerner to enemy national was both swift and complete. It put an end to his function as a protector from other foreigners far more rapidly than the disappearance of his prestige of power during the period 1923 to 1928 had withdrawn the shield of his nationality from Chinese who sought to use it when attacked by their fellow-countrymen. During the first four and a half years of the "China incident," however, United States Protestant missions in every region of China, supported by the representations made to the Japanese on their behalf by the United States consulates in China and the embassies in both China and Japan, served as refuges from both ground and air attacks. Conditions varied from section to section, though, so that the degree of protection afforded by mission enclosures depended in large part upon local circumstances.

The concern of the United States government for the safety of its citizens in China was expressed as soon as hostilities began in 1937. Requests were sent to those in threatened areas to evacuate to large

and well-protected centers of foreign residence.[6] The extent of the missionaries' compliance with these requests may be gathered from the figures of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. The Conference reported in April of 1938 that in the area comprised by Shantung, Kiangsu, Anhwei, and northern Chekiang, there were 540 United States, Canadian, and China Inland Mission members in Shanghai and only 96 outside of it.[7] Since normally there would be more missionaries outside of Shanghai than in it, this meant that many mission compounds were left without a foreign tenant. In a number of cities there were no missionaries present at all when the Japanese took over. A considerable amount of damage was done to vacated mission properties by shellfire[8] and their owners' losses were increased

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[6] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1937, IV, 247.

[7] Far Eastern Bulletin of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Series B, No. 13 (April 1, 1938).

[8] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1937, IV, 359, 362-63, 371-72.

Ibid., 1938, IV (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955), 227, 233-34, 320-21.

Ibid., 1939, IV (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955), 403.

Ibid., 1940, IV (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955), 859-60, 866-67.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LII, Nos. 77, 105, 107, 218.

Ibid., Vol. LXV, No. 227.

Ibid., Vol. LXVII, Nos. 10, 106, 140, 142, 312, 327.

Ibid., Vol. LXX, Nos. 6, 80, 204.

Methodist Women, General Correspondence: M. E. Townsend, February 10, 1939.

Missionary Research Library: W. H. Oldfield (general

by looting.[9] The invading Japanese troops did not resist the temptation to use unoccupied mission buildings any more than the Northward

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letter), May 16, 1940.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 19-2, 1937, Narrative Report of the North China Mission.

Ibid., 19-2, 1938, Paotingfu Station Report.

Ibid., 10-2, 1938, Kiangan Mission Narrative Report.

Ibid., 14-7, 1939, D. S. Tappan, March 27, 1939.

Ibid., 14-2, 1939, Narrative Report -- Hainan Mission.

Ibid., 14-2, 1940, Nodoa Station Report.

Minutes of the East China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1938 (n. p.), pp. 13, 27.

Ibid., 1939 (n. p.), p. 12.

Ibid., 1940 (n. p.), p. 44.

The Shanghai Station News, 1937-1938 (n. p.), pp. 1-6.

Anking Newsletter, XXV (May, 1940), 22.

China Christian Advocate, XXV (August, 1938), 15.

Ibid., XXVI (March, 1939), 12.

Advent Christian Missions, XVIII (August, 1938), 233-34.

Ibid., XIX (April, 1939), 138.

Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXXVI (July, 1938), 107-09.

Ibid., XXXVI (December, 1938), 188-89.

Commission, II (February, 1939), 40-41.

Evangel, LVIII (September, 1939), 233-34.

Missions, XXX (February, 1939), 76.

Presbyterian Survey, XXIX (June, 1939), 274-78.

Spirit of Missions, CIII (January, 1938), 14-19.

World Outlook, XXVIII (May, 1938), 4-5.

Ibid., XXVIII (December, 1938), 6.

Richard Terrill Baker, With Kindness in His Hands (Chicago: (Chicago: Methodist Department of Missionary Education, n. d.), pp. 10-11.

Palmborg, China Letters, pp. 263-64.

[9] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1938, IV, 228, 233-34, 249-50.

Ibid., Japan: 1931-1941, I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), 564-70.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LII, No. 195.

Ibid., Vol. LV, No. 101.

Ibid., Vol. LXVII, Nos. 106, 167.

Ibid., Vol. LXIX, Nos. 83, 184.

Ibid., Vol. LXX, No. 310.

Ibid., Vol. LXXI, No. 297.

Methodist Library, Project Files: "Data on History of

Expedition had a decade before. As the invaders went up the Yangtze from Shanghai toward Nanking, they took over unoccupied mission

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Stephenson Memorial Hospital" (manuscript), p. 2.

Methodist Women, General Correspondence: F. F. Culley, December 27, 1937.

Ibid., Helen Ferris, August 29, 1937, and December 13, 1938.

Ibid., Mary Culler White (general letter), 1943.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 19-2, 1938, Report of Shuntehfu Station.

Ibid., 20-2, 1938, Tsinan Station Report.

United Board: Vautrin diary, pp. 112, 118, 126, 132, 147-48, 180, 335.

Ibid., Nanking, Box 27, M. S. Bates, Excerpts from Correspondence Describing Happenings in Nanking.

Ibid., Nanking, Box 51, J. H. McCallum diary notes.

Ibid., Lingnan, Box 76, James Henry, February 15, 1939.

Materials in the possession of Miss Hattie R. MacCurdy: Diary of Mabel S. Jones, 1938.

The Shanghai Station News, 1937-1938, pp. 1-6.

Annual Report of the Soochow Station of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1937-38 (n. p.), pp. 1-7.

Minutes of East China Mission, Presbyterian U. S. A., 1940, p. 44.

Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1941, p. 14.

Anking Newsletter, XVIII (November-December, 1937), 15-17.

District of Shanghai Newsletter, XXIV (January, 1938), 10-11.

Ibid., XXIV (February, 1938), 17-18, 22-23.

Ibid., XXIV (May, 1938), 8, 20.

Ibid., XXIV (September, 1938), 5-6.

Ibid., XXIV (October, 1938), 10, 15.

Advent Christian Missions, XVIII (October, 1938), 274-76.

Ibid., XIX (November-December, 1938), 6, 40.

Far Eastern Bulletin, Foreign Missions Conference, Series B, No. 20 (July 8, 1938).

Foreign Missionary, LVIII (May, 1938), 18.

Friends Oriental News, XXIX (June, 1938), 2.

Presbyterian Survey, XXVIII (June, 1938), 320.

Spirit of Missions, CIV (April, 1939), 21.

Ibid., CIV (September, 1939), 24.

World Outlook, XXX (March, 1940), 18, 27.

Shuhsi Hsu (ed.), Documents of the Nanking Safety Zone

enclosures one by one.[10] Consular and diplomatic intervention was required in many cases to remove those who remained in the mission compounds after the main body of the army had left.[11] The last major United States Protestant property in the lower Yangtze valley to be returned was the Northern and Southern Baptists' University of Shanghai, which was in an area the Japanese desired to fortify. It was held until

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(Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1939), pp. 10, 29, 44-46, 88, 95, 121.

Shuhsi Hsu (ed.), The War Conduct of the Japanese (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1938), pp. 192-93.

E. H. Hume, Dauntless Adventurer (New Haven: Yale-in-China Association, 1952), pp. 91-92.

Palmborg, China Letters, pp. 263-64.

H. J. Timperley, Japanese Terror in China, (New York: Modern Age, 1938), pp. 80, 86.

[10] China's Millions, May, 1938, p. 74.

District of Shanghai Newsletter, XXIV (February, 1938), 1, 7.

Ibid., XXIV (April, 1938), 1, 10.

Ibid., XXIV (July, 1938), 8-12.

Ibid., XXV (March, 1939), 4.

Commission, II (May, 1939), 149.

Confidential Supplement to National Christian Council [of China] Summer Series, June 20, 1938, pp. 4-6.

Far Eastern Bulletin, Foreign Missions Conference, Series B, No. 20 (July 8, 1938).

Presbyterian Survey, XXIX (June, 1939), 275-77.

Spirit of Missions, CIV (April, 1939), 21.

World Outlook, XXVIII (December, 1938), 6-7.

Ibid., XXIX (April, 1939), 18.

Baker, With Kindness in His Hands, pp. 10-11.

"New Order in East Asia" (Shanghai: American Information Committee, 1939), pp. 11-12.

[11] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1938, IV, 267-558, passim.

Ibid., 1939, IV, 300-336, passim.

mid-1939.[12] However, some of the mission buildings at Soochow, where Southern Baptists, Southern Methodists, Northern and Southern Presbyterians, and Episcopalians had stations, were retained for nearly as long a period.[13] At and beyond Nanking, the Japanese found missionaries still residing in their stations. Properties belonging to United States Protestant missions were used in central China as well as in the eastern provinces. However, they were usually in locations which a missionary was unable to reach in time to protest the entry of the troops before they had settled themselves. They were rarely retained after the first wave of soldiers had passed.[14] In north China,

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[12] Ibid., 1938, IV, 267-558, passim.
Ibid., 1939, IV, 300-336, passim.
Ibid., Japan: 1931-1941, I, 764-81.
Home and Foreign Fields, December, 1937, p. 3.
Missions, XXIX (February, 1938), 69.
Ibid., XXIX (October, 1938), 488.
Ibid., XXX (February, 1939), 91-92.
Ibid., XXXI (January, 1940), 38-39.

[13] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1938, IV, 358, 452-54, 485-86.
Ibid., 1939, IV, 300-301.

[14] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LV, No. 101.
Methodist Library, Project Files: Evaline Gaw et al. (general letter), 1942.
Kiangan Mission Minutes, 1938 (n.p.), p. 14.
Ibid., 1939 (n.p.), p. 31.
Ibid., 1941 (n.p.), pp. 18-19, 28.
Anking Newsletter, XVIII (November-December, 1937), 5-6.
Advent Christian Missions, XVIII (October, 1938), 273-75.
Ibid., XVIII (July, 1938), 203-04.
Ibid., XIX (January, 1939), 54-55.
A. V. Casselman, Red and Black and Gold (Philadelphia: Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1940), p. 31.

too, as the Japanese marched through Hopei and Shantung, vacated stations were used[15] more often than those in which missionaries were actually present.[16] After the invasion of south China began, the reports of missionaries there displayed the same pattern.[17] Despite the lesser amount of respect paid by the army of occupation to buildings in which there was no foreigner, in a number of instances mission-owned enclosures with no American tenant afforded a measure of protection from the invaders equal to or slightly less than that found with United States Protestant mission personnel. Sometimes, as in Nanking, Kaifeng, Kiukiang, or Nanchang, there were foreigners present within the city who could and did visit other compounds than their own.[18]

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[15] American Board, ABC: 16:3.12: Vol. LII, Nos. 108, 109, 110, 120, 191, 195.
Ibid., Vol. LXVII, No. 224.
Ibid., Vol. LXIX, Nos. 40, 174, 184.
Ibid., Vol. LXX, Nos. 302, 310, 314.
Ibid., Vol. LXXII, No. 263.

[16] Ibid., Vol. LXVII, Nos. 10, 142.
Ibid., Vol. LXXI, Nos. 297, 320, 321.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 19-2, 1938, Paotingfu Station Report.
Ibid., 20-2, 1938, Tsinan Station Report.
Ibid., 20-2, 1938, Albert B. Dodd, March 26, 1938.
"Glimpses" of the East Suburb Station of the Shantung Presbyterian Mission, 1938-1939 (n. p.), p. 17.

[17] American Baptist Foreign Mission Society Files: R. T. Capen, Annual Report for 1939.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.7: Vol. VIII, No. 502.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 14-7, 1939, D. S. Tappan, March 27 and April 20, 1939.
Missions, XXXI (September, 1940), 407.

[18] Methodist Women, General Correspondence: J. Lind,

More often, though, it was a country chapel, an outstation, or a station temporarily evacuated by its staff which harbored its neighbors both during and after the first weeks of occupation.[19] Out of the approximately one hundred American Board chapels in the Paotingfu field, for instance, of the twenty or more actually used as refuges only one was reported to have been seriously molested.[20]

The use of the airplane in warfare brought about an entirely different set of conditions from those which obtained during land battles. Not only did it make military installations in the rear areas as dangerous

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August 2, 1939.
China Christian Advocate, XXVII (June, 1940), 6.
Friends Oriental News, XXIX (June, 1938), 2, 12.
Ibid., XXX (September, 1939), 11-12.
The Missionary, II (February, 1939), 21-22.

[19] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXVII, Nos. 10, 219, 222.
Ibid., Vol. LXIX, Nos. 186, 235, 258.
Ibid., Vol. LXX, Nos. 95, 204, 310.
Ibid., Vol. LXXI, No. 297.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 20-2, 1938, Tsinan Station Report.
Ibid., 19-2, 1937, Narrative Report of the North China Mission.
Minutes of the Shantung Mission of the American Presbyterian Church, 1938 (Tsingtao: 1938), p. 34.
"Glimpses" of Tsinan, 1938-1939, p. 18.
Anking Newsletter, XXV (May, 1940), 22.
District of Shanghai Newsletter, XXIII (November, 1937), 12.
Ibid., XXIV (February, 1938), 2.
Advent Christian Missions, XVIII (April, 1938), 134.
Ibid., XXII (November, 1941), 10.
Foreign Missionary, LIX (November, 1939), 4.
Friends Oriental News, XXIX (June, 1938), 8.

[20] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LV, No. 90.
Ibid., Vol. LXXI, No. 235.

as the front lines, the speed with which it passed over its target meant that the chance of accidental aerial damage in non-military areas behind the lines was great. From the beginning of hostilities to its own entry into the war the United States government continued to remind the Japanese that they were obliged to respect the rights and preserve the safety of United States citizens in the areas of combat and in the places chosen as targets for aerial bombing, to protest when those rights and that safety were imperiled by Japanese action, and to provide the Japanese with information about the location of American properties in the hope of lessening the danger of bombing. The United States government also encouraged the plain and visible marking of such properties by their owners.[21] When the Japanese had bombed towns in eastern Hopei in 1933, they had avoided marked mission premises.[22] Nevertheless, from 1937 on, in Szechwan and in every province of China proper east of Szechwan some United States Protestant missions were struck by bombs.[23] Missions in Honan and Kiangsu sustained particularly

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[21] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1937, IV, 238-430, passim.
Ibid., 1938, IV, 223-558, passim.
Ibid., 1939, IV, 271-423, passim.
Ibid., 1940, IV, 859-912, passim.
Ibid., Japan: 1931-1941, I, 488-923, passim.

[22] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXII, No. 163.

[23] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1937, IV, 323-66, passim.
Ibid., 1938, IV, 281-553, passim.
Ibid., 1939, IV, 301-412, passim.

heavy losses.[24] In the lower Yangtze region, for example, the

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Ibid., 1940, IV, 876-909, passim.
Ibid., Japan: 1931-1941, I, 498-715, passim.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XXX, No. 353.
Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, No. 185.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXVII, Nos. 195, 222.
Methodist Church, Department of News Releases: W. S. Bissonnette (general letters), May 4 and July 4, 1941.
Methodist Library, Project Files: E. C. Perkins (general letter), December 10, 1938.
Methodist Women, General Correspondence: Helen Ferris, August 29, 1937.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 19-2, 1938, Paotingfu Station Report.
Ibid., 19-2, 1938: Report of Shuntehfu Station.
Ibid., 13-7, 1939, T. W. Mitchell, June 30, 1939.
Ibid., 13-2, 1939, Hengyang Station Report.
Ibid., 13-2, 1940, Report of the Hunan Mission.
United Board: Lingnan, Box 75, W. W. Cadbury et al., September 23, 1938.
Ibid.: Fukien Christian University, Box A No. 4, Eva M. Asher, July 22, 1938, and May 31, 1939.
MacCurdy materials: Nansuchow Station Letter, 1938.
Letter from Miss Florence Webster to author, April 1, 1956.
China Christian Advocate, XXVI (August, 1939), 15.
Ibid., XXVII (August, 1940), 14.
Hankow Newsletter, XIX (February-March, 1939), 12.
Ibid., XIX (April-May, 1939), 9, 12-13.
West China Missionary News, XLI (July-August, 1939), 339.
Chinese Recorder, LXXI (December, 1940), 784.
Advent Christian Missions, XVIII (August, 1938), 233-34.
Commission, II (February, 1939), 40-41.
Ibid., II (May, 1939), 149.
Ibid., II (September, 1939), 304.
Evangelical Missionary World, XVIII (November, 1940), 338.
Ibid., XIX (October, 1941), 311.
Foreign Missionary, LVIII (December, 1938), 23-24.
Far Eastern Bulletin, Foreign Missions Conference, Series B, No. 25, October 19, 1938.
Lutheran Woman's Work, XXXI (October, 1938), 404-05.
Missions, XXX (October, 1939), 469-70.
Outlook of Missions, XXX (September, 1938), 246.
Ibid., XXXI (November, 1939), 308.
Ibid., XXXII (November, 1940), 315-16.
Ibid., XXXIII (July-August, 1941), 209-10.
Spirit of Missions, CIV (April, 1939), 19.
Ibid., CIV (August, 1939), 12.
Casselman, Red and Black and Gold, pp. 19-27.
Ernest M. Wampler, China Suffers (Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Publishing House, 1945), pp. 36-37.

[24] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1937, IV,

destruction of Southern Methodist property by both aerial and ground forces amounted to over a quarter of a million dollars, or a tenth of the entire loss to United States nationals reported in the Shanghai consular district up to 1939.[25] The conventional reasons given by Japanese diplomatic and military officers for all damages to missions, in addition to the cloudy weather or absence of plainly visible American flags adduced when aerial bombing had been protested,[26] were the actual use

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264-428, passim.
Ibid., 1938, IV, 270-551, passim.
Ibid., 1939, IV, 328-407, passim.
Ibid., Japan: 1931-1941, I, 590-676, passim.
Methodist Library, Project Files: "Data on History of Stephenson Memorial Hospital."
Interview with Dr. Robert T. Henry, May 4, 1956.
China Christian Advocate, XXIV (December, 1937), 3.
District of Shanghai Newsletter, XXIV (January, 1938), 13-14.
Ibid., XXIV (February, 1938), 12-15.
Ibid., XXIV (May, 1938), 8, 11.
Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, CXVIII (April 3, 1941), 24.
Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXXVI (December, 1938), 188-89.
Commission, II (February, 1939), 41.
Ibid., II (September, 1939), 304.
Ibid., III (June, 1940), 199.
Spirit of Missions, CIII (January, 1938), 14-19.
World Call, N.S. XIX (November, 1937), 5.
Skinsnes, Scalpel and Cross in Honan, pp. 225-27.

[25] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1940, IV, 871.
"Missionary Losses in China," Outlook of Missions, XXX (June, 1938), 172-73.

[26] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1937, IV, 270, 339-40, 378, 382, 397-98.
Ibid., 1938, IV, 281, 551.
Ibid., 1939, IV, 327, 332, 411.
Ibid., Japan: 1931-1941, I, 635-39, 676-77.

of such property by Chinese troops[27] or their proximity to it.[28] More than once they asked that United States nationals take it upon themselves to see that no soldiers were within some specified distance, such as a kilometer, of their property.[29] The Japanese were quite correct in assuming that the Chinese regular and guerrilla armies were using mission buildings as they had for the previous decade or more, as the remarks of missionaries from Hopei to Kwangtung on Chinese occupation of chapels and schools will testify[30] -- but more often than not, the structures destroyed had not harbored a Chinese soldier (except perhaps

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[27] Ibid., Japan: 1931-1941, I, 607, 647, 663.

[28] Ibid., 1938, IV, 271, 289, 551.
Ibid., 1939, IV, 333, 411.
Ibid., Japan: 1931-1941, 635-39, 677.

[29] Ibid., 1938, IV, 271, 289, 551.
Ibid., Japan: 1931-1941, 585-86, 653, 663.

[30] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LV, No. 123.
Ibid., Vol. LXVII, Nos. 10, 106, 210.
Ibid., Vol. LXVIII, Nos. 26, 317.
Ibid., Vol. LXX, No. 322.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 19-2, 1938, Report of Shuntehfu Station.
United Board: Vautrin diary, pp. 37, 72.
Ibid., Lingnan, Box 74, Clinton N. Laird, July 21, 1938.
Anking Newsletter, XVIII (May, 1938), 2-3.
District of Shanghai Newsletter, XXIV (February, 1938), 7, 14.
Advent Christian Missions, XVIII (June, 1938), 180.
Ibid., XIX (January, 1939), 54.
Home and Foreign Fields, December, 1937, p. 3.
Missions, XXX (February, 1939), 92.
Outlook of Missions, XXX (July-August, 1938), 204.
Across Frontiers in War and Peace (n. p., n. d.), p. 10.

as a hospital patient) for several years. In spite of all damages to mission properties, though, the Chinese in their vicinity tended to flock to them in hope of safety whenever the air-raid alarm was sounded. From Peiping to Nodoa[31] and Ningpo to Chungking[32] missionaries could echo the statement of R. W. McClure that "people naturally think that this compound is a safe place from bombs," or that of Harry R. Caldwell, "Somehow, the people seemed greatly comforted when grouped under the fruit trees in our compound."[33]

It was the missionaries more than their enclosures, however,

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[31] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XXV, No. 142.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXVII, Nos. 69, 137.
Methodist Church, Department of News Releases: W. S. Bissonnette (general letter) September 8, 1941.
Presbyterian U. S. A. Reports: 19-2, 1938, Paotingfu Station Report.
Ibid., 19-2, 1938, Report of the Yenching Sub-Station.
Ibid., 20-2, 1938, Ichowfu Station Letter.
Ibid., 20-2, 1938, Tsinan Station Report.
Ibid., 14-7, M. M. Moninger, June 3, 1939.
United Board: Howard S. Galt, "Yenching University: Its Sources and Its History" (manuscript, 1939), pp. 416-17.
Chinese Recorder, LXVIII (October, 1937), 665.
Forth, CV (February, 1940), 28.
Casselman, Red and Black and Gold, p. 33.

[32] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXX, No. 404.
Methodist Church, Department of News Releases: C. B. Rappé, "Bombing in Chungking," The Christian Advocate, July 27, 1939, p. 24. (Clipping.)
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: East China, 1940, Notes on the Evangelistic Work of Ning po Station.
Letter from Miss Florence Webster to author, April 1, 1956.
China Christian Advocate, XXVI (June, 1939), 8.

[33] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XXX, No. 14.
Letter from Harry R. Caldwell to author, September 15, 1956.

that provided the real safeguard for Chinese in recently-occupied areas. In every community the most dangerous period for the general population was that immediately following the entry of the conquerors. It was then that the vast majority of those depredations,[34] assaults,[35] and abductions[36] which took place on mission property were reported by the United States Protestants present, though searches and arrests

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[34] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXVII, No. 10.
Ibid., Vol. LXX, No. 310.
China Christian Advocate, XXVI (March, 1939), 12.
The Missionary, V (April, 1942), 27-29.
Hsu, Documents, pp. 39, 54.
Hsu, War Conduct, p. 174.
Mary Culler White, I Was There When It Happened in China (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1947), p. 31.

[35] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LV, No. 101.
Ibid., Vol. LXIX, No. 2.
Ibid., Vol. LXX, No. 80.
Methodist Women, General Correspondence: M. C. White, 1943.
United Board: Vautrin diary, pp. 120-86, passim.
Ibid., Nanking, Box 27, M. S. Bates, Excerpts from Correspondence.
Ibid., Nanking, Box 27, M. S. Bates, January 10 and 28, 1938.
Ibid., Nanking, Box 51, Lewis S. C. Smythe, Nanking Looting 1937.
Ibid., Nanking, Box 51, J. H. McCallum diary notes.
Ibid., Lingnan, Box 76, J. M. Henry, March 27, 1939.
Advent Christian Missions, XVIII (October, 1938), 274.
Friends Oriental News, XXIX (June, 1938), 2.
Hsu, Documents, pp. 10, 28-30, 39-44, 46, 54-55, 62-63, 78-79, 128.

[36] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LV, No. 101.
United Board: Vautrin diary, pp. 113-34, passim.
Ibid., Nanking, Box 27, M. S. Bates, Excerpts from Correspondence.
Ibid., Nanking, Box 27, M. S. Bates, January 28, 1938.
Hsu, Documents, pp. 43-44, 54-55, 78-79, 95.

occurred not only at the time of entry[37] but in later years as well.[38]

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[37] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LII, No. 258.
Ibid., Vol. LXVII, Nos. 142, 195.
Ibid., Vol. LXIX, No. 60.
Ibid., Vol. LXX, No. 79.
Ibid., Vol. LXXI, No. 183.
Methodist Women, General Correspondence: M. C. White, 1943.
United Board: Vautrin diary, pp. 112-13.
Letter from Miss Viola C. Hill to author, April 2, 1956.
Letter from Miss Coral Houston to author, September 9, 1956.
Letter from Miss Anna M. Hutchison to author, October 22, 1956.
Anking Newsletter, XVIII (January-February, 1938), 17-18.
Advent Christian Missions, XVIII (October, 1938), 275.
The Missionary, V (April, 1942), 27-29.
Missionary Record, LI (February, 1938), 22.
Paul E. Adolph, Surgery Speaks to China (Philadelphia: China Inland Mission, 1945), pp. 176-77.
Clara J. Jones, Above the Tumult in China (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1948), pp. 10-12.
Skinsnes, Scalpel and Cross in Honan, 229-32.
Wampler, China Suffers, pp. 69-71, 92.

[38] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1938, IV, 448.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LII, No. 74.
Ibid., Vol. LXIX, Nos. 210, 211, 306.
Ibid., Vol. LXX, No. 359.
Ibid., Vol. LXXI, Nos. 281, 310, 211, 320, 327.
Ibid., Vol. LXXII, Nos. 18, 263.
Ibid., Vol. LXXXI, No. 249.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 20-2, 1938, Tsinan Station Report.
Ibid., 19-2, 1940, "Paotingfu 1939-1940" (scrapbook).
United Board: Vautrin diary, pp. 426-40, 456.
Ibid., Nanking, Box 27, M. S. Bates, Excerpts from Correspondence.
Ibid., Nanking, Box 27, M. S. Bates, January 28, 1938.
Ibid., Nanking, Box 51, L. S. C. Smythe, Nanking Looting 1937.
Ibid., Yenching, Roll 78, J. L. Stuart, June 16, 1938 (Microfilmed.)
Interview with Mrs. Richard E. Jenness, May 5, 1956.
Anking Newsletter, XIX (May-June, 1939), 4.

Even under the most difficult circumstances missionaries were usually able to provide the protection from the more unprincipled of the victors which was sorely needed by innocent Chinese. A typical example is afforded by an experience of Miss Mary Culler White, in a small town northeast of Hangchow where she was the only foreigner within miles. She succeeded at last in persuading a group of armed Japanese soldiers who had forced their way upstairs to leave her house by writing out for them,

> I am an American woman. This is my house. I have Chinese ladies living with me. We look to the glory and honor of great Japan to protect us all.[39]

Though the incident necessitated remarkable tact and fortitude on the part of Miss White, similar tales could be told of many of her fellow-workers in the occupied regions. Small wonder that as the Japanese progressed through northern, central, and southern China, the inhabitants were drawn as by a magnet to places where a United States Protestant was in residence. At times they even climbed walls and

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China Christian Advocate, XXVI (March, 1939), 12.
Confidential Supplement to National Christian Council Summer Series, June 20, 1938, p. 2.
China's Millions, November, 1939, pp. 170-71.
Lutheran Woman's Work, XXXI (December, 1938), 466.
Adolph, Surgery Speaks to China, pp. 179-80.
"New Order in East Asia," p. 19.
Wampler, China Suffers, pp. 159-71.

[39] Methodist Women, General Correspondence: M. C. White, 1943.

dropped from neighboring housetops in their anxiety to find a place of safety, though few had to run through machine-gun fire to reach the compound that was to shelter them as did the people of Nantungchow, Kiangsu.[40] In the campaign through Hopei of 1937[41] which put out offshoots into Shansi and Shantung[42] and reached Honan early in

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[40]"A Letter from Nantung," Confidential Supplement to National Christian Council Summer Series, June 20, 1938.

[41]American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LII, Nos. 74, 76, 77.
Ibid., Vol. LIII, No. 73.
Ibid., Vol. LV, No. 87.
Ibid., Vol. LXVII, Nos. 21, 69, 137, 140, 142, 166, 312, 313, 314, 327.
Ibid., Vol. LXVIII, No. 39.
Ibid., Vol. LXX, No. 291.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 19-2, 1937, Narrative Report of the North China Mission.
Ibid., 19-2, 1938, Paotingfu Station Report.
Ibid., 19-2, 1938, Report of Shuntehfu Station.
Ibid., 19-2, 1938, Report of the War and Famine Relief Committee of the American Presbyterian Mission, Shuntehfu.
United Board: Yenching, Box N No. 2, Newsletters, Faculty Letters 1937-38, Hilda L. Hague, October 1, 1937.
Interview with Mrs. Richard E. Jenness, May 5, 1956.
China Christian Advocate, XXV (January, 1938), 9.
Troxel, Cecil Troxel, pp. 221-23.

[42]American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXVII, No. 106.
Ibid., Vol. LXVIII, No. 131.
Ibid., Vol. LXIX, No. 95.
Ibid., Vol. LXX, Nos. 6, 79, 80, 176.
Methodist Library, Project Files: "Shantung Annual Conference, 1873-1937," p. 75.
Missionary Research Library: Bulletin of the Committee on Relief in China of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 1938.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 20-2, 1938, Shantung Mission Yearly Report.
Ibid., 20-2, 1938, Albert B. Dodd, March 26, 1938.
Ibid., 20-2, 1938, Ichowfu Station Letter, June, 1938.

1938,[43] they found the safety they sought. As the invaders entered the Yangtze valley, though it was the foreign settlements at Shanghai that drew the people of the delta, elsewhere in Kiangsu,[44] as well as in

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Ibid., 20-2, 1938, Report of the Tsingtao Station.
Ibid., 20-2, 1938, Tsining Station Report.
Ibid., 20-2, 1938, Report of Weihsien Station.
Letter from Mrs. J. Homer Bright to author, September 4, 1956.
Letter from Miss Mary Shaeffer to author, September 24, 1956.
Letter from Miss Nettie M. Senger to author, September 27, 1956.
"Glimpses" of Tsinan Station, 1938-1939, p. 1.
Yihsien Speaks, 1937-1938 (n. p.), pp. 5-6.
Christian Universities of China Bulletin, No. 18 (March, 1938), p. 8.
Commission, I (September, 1938), 183.
Five Continents, XIV (October, 1941), 5.
Foreign Missionary, LVIII (April, 1938), 11.
Far Eastern Bulletin, Foreign Missions Conference, Series B, No. 22, August 5, 1938.
Wampler, China Suffers, pp. 49-74, 116-17.

[43] Augustana Foreign Missionary, XXXVI (September, 1938), 131.
Ibid., XXXVI (December, 1938), 188-89.
China's Millions, February, 1939, p. 26.
Ibid., April, 1939, pp. 55-56.
The Missionary, I (October, 1938), 5.
Ibid., II (November, 1939), 8-9.
Ibid., V (November, 1942), 15.
Missionary Tidings, XLIII (March, 1939), 68.
Ibid., XLIII (April, 1939), 104-05.
Ibid., XLIII (July, 1939), 198.
Ibid., XLIII (November, 1939), 329.

[44] Annual Report of the Soochow Station of the East China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1937-38 (n. p.), pp. 2-4.
District of Shanghai Newsletter, XXIV (January, 1938), 6-11.
Chinese Recorder, LXX (March, 1939), 166.
Commission, I (May, 1938), 92.
Far Eastern Bulletin, Foreign Missions Conference, Series B,

Anhwei[45] and northern Chekiang,[46] the compounds in which missionaries were present were the safest places in the captured cities. In the push of 1938-39 which carried the Japanese through much of Hupei and into Hunan and Kiangsi,[47] and in the parallel drive along the south China

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No. 27, November 19, 1938.

First-hand accounts of Nanking:

American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LV, No. 101.

Ibid., Vol. LXIX, No. 2.

United Board: Nanking, Box 27, M. S. Bates, Excerpts from Correspondence.

Ibid., Nanking, Box 51, L. S. C. Smythe, Nanking Looting 1937.

Ibid., Vautrin diary, pp. 107-57.

[45] Methodist Church, Bureau of News Releases: R. E. Brown (general letters), December 17, 1937, and October 20, 1938.

Methodist Women, General Correspondence: F. F. Culley (general letters in folder No. 1), December 27, 1937, and January 18, 1938.

United Board: Vautrin diary, pp. 338, 398, 405.

MacCurdy material: Nansuchow Station Letter, May-June, 1938.

Ibid., Diary of Mabel S. Jones, June, 1938.

Letter from Lloyd R. Craighill to author, May 11, 1956.

Anking Newsletter, XVIII (November-December, 1937), 14-18.

Ibid., XVIII (January-February, 1938), 16-19.

Advent Christian Missions, XVIII (April, 1938), 134.

Ibid., XVIII (October, 1938), 273-76.

Far Eastern Bulletin, Foreign Missions Conference, Series B, Nos. 10 and 13, March 14 and April 1, 1938.

World Call, N. S. XXI (June, 1939), 6.

[46] Methodist Women, General Correspondence: M. C. White, August 21, 1938, February 14, 1939, and 1943.

China Christian Advocate, XXV (December, 1938), 8.

Ibid., XXVI (January, 1939), 5.

World Outlook, XXVIII (September, 1938), 35.

Clayton, Heaven Below, pp. 187-95.

Timperley, Japanese Terror in China, pp. 84-90.

[47] Methodist Church, Department of News Releases: Evaline

coast from Amoy to Hainan,[48] again the stations where a missionary

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Gaw (general letter), February 20, 1940.

Methodist Library, Project Files: E. Gaw et al. (general letter), 1942.

Ibid., E. C. Perkins (general letter), December 10, 1938.

Methodist Women, General Correspondence: Helen Ferris, December 13, 1938.

Ibid., Jenny Lind, August 5, 1938, and August 2, 1939.

Ibid., Mollie E. Townsend, July 15, 1938, and February 10, 1939.

Letter from John L. Coe to author, April 17, 1956.

Letter from Miss Coral Houston to author, September 9, 1956.

Letter from Deaconess Gertrude Stewart to author, March 20, 1956.

Letter from Harry B. Taylor to author, March 27, 1956.

Anking Newsletter, XVIII (November-December, 1937), 13.

Ibid., XVIII (March, 1938), 16.

Ibid., XVIII (September-October, 1938), 11-12.

China Christian Advocate, XXVII (June, 1940), 6-7.

Hankow Newsletter, XIX (April-May, 1939), 7-9.

National Christian Council of China Bulletin, No. 36 (April 16, 1939), p. 4.

Forth, CVII (December, 1943), 8-9.

Casselman, Red and Black and Gold, pp. 28-30.

Jones, Above the Tumult in China, pp. 9-14.

[48] Presbyterian Library, China Missions Folders: Kiungchow and Hoihow Station Letter, November, 1940.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 14-2, 1939, Narrative Report of Hainan Mission.

Ibid., 14-7, 1939, M. M. Moninger, June 3, 1939.

United Board: Lingnan, Box 75, James M. Henry, November 1-9 and November 18, 1940.

Ibid., Lingnan, Box 75, W. W. Cadbury, November 27, 1938.

Minutes of the South China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1939 (n. p.), pp. 19-20.

Report of the Canton International Red Cross, October 18th, 1937, to January 31st, 1939 (n. p.), pp. 9-10.

The South China Mosaic, 1938-1939 (Hong Kong: Wing Fat and Company, 1939), pp. 20-24, 29-30, 35-36.

The Torch, I (May 15, 1939), 4-5, 9.

Evangel, LVIII (April, 1939), 105-06.

Ibid., LIX (September, 1940), 238.

Far Eastern Bulletin, Foreign Missions Conference,

was in residence afforded the greatest degree of protection to the people. On Hainan and in the plain from Hopei to Anhwei, moreover, the activities of guerrillas forced noncombatants to return at times to the missions to escape both stray bullets and Japanese retaliatory measures.[49] In 1940 and 1941, after a year of relative inactivity, the Japanese armies burst forth again, entering new cities in Chekiang, Honan, Fukien, and Hunan. Even in the last months preceding the attack on Pearl Harbor, though, United States Protestants continued to be able to offer effective shelter to the Chinese who entered their gates.[50]

Series B, No. 23 (August 26, 1938).
Missions, XXX (November, 1939), 554-55.

[49] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LV, Nos. 90, 109.
Ibid., Vol. LXIX, Nos. 83, 87, 89, 235.
Ibid., Vol. LXXI, No. 176.
Ibid., Vol. LXXVIII, No. 3.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 19-2, 1938, Paotingfu Station Report.
Ibid., 10-2, 1939, Showchow Station Report.
Ibid., 10-2, 1940, Station Report of Showchow Station.
Ibid., 14-2, 1939, Narrative Report of Hainan Mission.
Ibid., 14-7, 1939, M. M. Moninger, December 13, 1939.
Ibid., 14-2, 1940, Nodoa Station Report.
Ibid., Hainan Station Reports, 1941, Nodoa Station Report.
White Fields (Weihsien: 1939), pp. 3-4.
Anking Newsletter, XIX (May-June, 1939), 3-4.

[50] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XXXII, No. 216.
American Baptist Foreign Mission Society Files: Viola C. Hill, September 4, 1942.
Ibid., Mrs. R. E. Stannard, August 1, 1941.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: East China, 1941, East China Mission Annual Report.
Ibid., Hunan, 1942, War Relief Work Report of the Hunan Mission.
United Board: Huachung, Roll 20, Yale-in-China, Report

The Chinese who went to United States Protestant mission stations when the Japanese approached were reluctant to leave their walls to return to devastated houses into which members of the army of occupation might intrude at any time. This was particularly true of girls and young mothers, who were always the last to leave. In a number of instances they managed to remain as dependents, employees, or students on the plea that they not only had no homes, but no men to protect and provide for them. In the northern provinces of Hopei, Shansi, Shantung, and Honan some did not leave for over a year, and many remained for several months.[51] In the central provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang,

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of the 35th Year (1941). (Microfilmed.)

Ibid., Huachung, Roll 20, Yale-in-China, 36th Report (1942). (Microfilmed.)

Letter from A. W. Billing to author, September 10, 1956.

Letter from Miss W. P. Harris to author, March 21, 1956.

Letter from Miss Viola C. Hill to author, April 14, 1956.

Have a Heart for China, No. A-31 (April, 1941), p. 2.

Evangelical Missionary World, XX (January, 1942), 10-11.

The Missionary, IV (April, 1941), 14.

Ibid., IV (June, 1941), 29-36.

Ibid., V (April, 1942), 27-29.

John Cope Caldwell, China Coast Family (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1953), pp. 187-91.

Hume, Dauntless Adventurer, pp. 90-93.

[51] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LII, No. 218.

Ibid., Vol. LV, Nos. 107, 122.

Ibid., Vol. LXVII, No. 317.

Ibid., Vol. LXIX, Nos. 83, 87, 89, 228, 229, 251.

Ibid., Vol. LXX, Nos. 177, 178.

Ibid., Vol. LXXI, Nos. 93, 94, 96, 98.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 19-2, 1938, Paotingfu Station Report.

Ibid., 20-2, 1938, Tsining Station Report.

United Board: Yenching, Roll 78, J. L. Stuart, September

Anhwei, Kiangsi, and Hupei the average stay was about the same.[52]

In Kwangtung, too, it was months before most of those who came for

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3 and 29, 1937. (Microfilmed.)

Interview with Mrs. Richard E. Jenness, May 5, 1956.

White Fields, p. 4.

Yihsien Speaks, pp. 5-6.

A Year of Growth in the Seven Churches (Yihsien, 1939), p. 16.

Far Eastern Bulletin, Foreign Missions Conference, Series B, No. 22, August 5, 1938.

Missionary Tidings, XLIII (April, 1939), 104-05.

Ibid., XLIII (July, 1939), 198.

Ibid., XLIII (November, 1939), 329.

[52] American Baptist Foreign Mission Society: A. F. Ufford, May 19, 1941.

Methodist Church, Department of News Releases: R. E. Brown (general letter), October 20, 1938.

Methodist Library, Project Files: E. Gaw et al., 1942.

Methodist Women, General Correspondence: Helen Ferris, December 13, 1938.

Ibid., Jenny Lind, April 19 and August 2, 1939.

United Board: Hangchow, Box 2, R. J. McMullen, March-April, 1938.

Ibid., Nanking, Box 27, M. S. Bates, March 21, 1938.

Ibid., Vautrin diary, pp. 158-308.

Letter from John L. Coe to author, April 17, 1956.

Letter from Harry B. Taylor to author, March 27, 1956.

Anking Newsletter, XVIII (January-February, 1938), 5, 8.

Ibid., XVIII (September-October, 1938), 10.

Ibid., XIX (May-June, 1939), 12.

Ibid., XX (November-December, 1939), 5.

Ibid., XX (March, 1940), 9-10.

China Christian Advocate, XXVII (June, 1940), 6-7.

"C. H. S. K. H.," No. 26 (April, 1938), pp. 59-60.

District of Shanghai Newsletter, XXIV (June, 1938), 6.

Hankow Newsletter, XIX (April-May, 1939), 7-9, 16.

Ibid., XIX (October-November, 1939), 4.

Ibid., XIX (December, 1939), 5-7.

Religious Education Fellowship Bulletin, No. 8 (April, 1938), 4.

Far Eastern Bulletin, Foreign Missions Conference, Series B, No. 13, April 1, 1938.

shelter returned home.[53] In fact, over a thousand of the refugees on the extensive grounds of Lingnan University did not depart until fifteen months after Canton was occupied, though three-fifths of the original seven thousand had left within five months of the city's surrender. Their long residence was partly at the desire of the American staff, though, for as its president wrote late in September of 1939,

> We could close the camp in a week if we had to. It is a definite safeguard from several points of view, however, to have the refugees there still. An entirely empty campus might prove too tempting to the Japanese.[54]

The missionaries did their best to have some knowledge at all times of the Chinese taking refuge on their compounds. Each individual was registered not only in smaller refugee groups such as the three hundred fifty at Hofei or the nine hundred at Nansuchow but in the communities of up to ten thousand found at centers like Paotingfu, Wuhu,

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Spirit of Missions, CIV (October, 1939), 26.
Clayton, Heaven Below, p. 220.
Clarence B. Day, Hangchow Christian University (New York: United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1955), p. 97.

[53] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 14-2, 1940, Nodoa Station Report.
Ibid., Hainan, 1941, Nodoa Station Report.
Chinese Recorder, LXX (August, 1939), 474.
South China Mosaic, 1939, p. 23.
Ibid., 1940 (Hongkong: Wing Fat and Company, 1940), p. 33.

[54] United Board: Lingnan, Box 76, Clinton and Mazie Laird, January 16, 1939.
Ibid., Lingnan, Box 76, J. M. Henry, February 15, 1939.
Ibid., Lingnan, Box 78, J. M. Henry, September 24, 1939.
Ibid., Lingnan, Box 79, J. M. Henry, January 24, 1940.
Ibid., Lingnan, Box 79, W. E. MacDonald, February 19, 1940.

Wuchang, or Nanking.[55] It was natural for the Christians and the families of the missions' employees to be among the first to come.[56] It was equally natural that in a time of war preference should be given women and children, and that as at Fenchow, Nansuchow, or Hangchow older boys and men should often (though by no means always) be excluded completely.[57] Little if any encouragement was given those who wished to store items of value within United States Protestant mission buildings; but from Hopei to Kwangtung, pigs, chickens, ducks, and geese were brought by their owners as dietary supplements,[58] while

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[55] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXVII, No. 10.
MacCurdy material: Nansuchow Station Letter, May-June, 1938.
United Board: Vautrin, diary pp. 134, 160-62.
Letter from Deaconess Gertrude Stewart to author, March 20, 1956.
Anking Newsletter, XVIII (January-February, 1938), 16-18.
Advent Christian Missions, XVIII (October, 1938), 275-76.

[56] For example:
American Baptist Foreign Mission Society files: Mrs. R. E. Stannard, August 1, 1941.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LII, No. 77.
Methodist Library, Biographical Files: Julia Morgan, December 27, 1937.
Presbyterian U. S. A. Reports: 20-2, 1938, Tsining Station Report.
District of Shanghai Newsletter, XXIII (November, 1937), 12.

[57] American Board; ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXVIII, No. 26.
MacCurdy material: Nansuchow Station Letter, May-June, 1938.
Letter from R. J. McMullen to author, May 3, 1956.

[58] For example:
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 14-2, 1939, Narrative

everything from doors to legal documents appeared on compounds from Paotingfu to Nodoa.[59] A few even tried to smuggle looted goods into mission properties.[60]

The shelter which United States Protestants were able to give the Chinese who fled to them was due in large measure to their own status as citizens of a power which was traditionally friendly toward China. The Japanese were forced by their position as invaders seeking to take over China with a minimum of obstruction from the Western world to safeguard the person of the United States Protestant missionary. It is true that in the first eighteen months of the occupation there were reports that Japanese troops had shown disrespect to United States flags on mission properties.[61] Moreover, the Japanese placed

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Report of Hainan Mission.
Anking Newsletter, XVIII (January-February, 1938), 17.
Troxel, Cecil Troxel, p. 222.

[59]For example:
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXVII, No. 317.
United Board: Lingnan, Box 78, W. W. Cadbury, September 2, 1939.
Ibid., Vautrin diary, pp. 13-16, 82, 206.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: Hainan, 1942, Nodoa Station Narrative.
White Fields, p. 4.
Hume, Dauntless Adventurer, pp. 92-93.
Wampler, China Suffers, p. 57.

[60]For example:
United Board: Vautrin diary, p. 149.

[61]Foreign Relations of the United States, 1938, IV, 233-34, 501, 507-08.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LV, No. 101.
Ibid., Vol. LXX, No. 263.
United Board: Nanking, Box 27, M. S. Bates, Excerpts from

restrictions on the movements and activities of missionaries within the areas they controlled. For example, during 1938 the Japanese put forth considerable effort to bring about the removal of refugees from mission compounds in Showchow and Kiukiang to Japanese-established centers, thus limiting the missionaries' freedom to protect them. In the Wuhan cities they took measures that

> made it very difficult for any food to come into the mission refugee camps and even interfered with the removal of garbage and refuse from the camps

in order to bring about the camps' evacuation.[62] It was difficult for missionaries who had left their stations in the summer and autumn of 1937 to procure travel passes from the Japanese permitting their return.[63] United States Protestant missionaries in all the occupied areas

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Correspondence.

Ibid., Nanking, Box 27, Notes on the Immediate Situation, January 8, 1938.

Ibid., Vautrin diary, p. 116.

Confidential Supplement to National Christian Council Summer Series, June 20, 1938, p. 5.

Friends Oriental News, XXIX (June, 1938), 8.

Wampler, China Suffers, p. 57.

[62] Methodist Library, Project Files: E. C. Perkins, December 10, 1938.

Methodist Women, General Correspondence: Helen Ferris, December 13, 1938.

MacCurdy material: M. S. Jones diary, June, 1938.

Letter from John L. Coe to author, April 17, 1956. (Quotation from this letter).

National Christian Council of China Bulletin, November, 1938, pp. 1-4.

[63] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1938, IV, 273-431, passim.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 19-2, 1938, Paotingfu

were sometimes asked to bow to sentries, at other times required to report all male patients entering hospitals with gunshot wounds, and almost universally obliged to apply for passes when they wished to travel outside of the city in which they were working.[64] More limitations were set after the freezing of Japanese assets in the United

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Station Report.

Confidential Supplement to National Christian Council Summer Series, June 20, 1938, p. 4.

West China Missionary News, XL (May, 1938), 185.

Ibid., XL (July-August, 1938), 281.

Ibid., XL (October, 1938), 361.

Far Eastern Bulletin, Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Series B, No. 10, March 14, 1938.

Friends Oriental News, XXIX (June, 1938), 12.

[64] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LII, No. 284.

Ibid., Vol. LV, No. 107.

Ibid., Vol. LXXI, Nos. 184, 257, 262.

Ibid., Vol. LXXXVII, No. 396.

Methodist Library, Project Files: E. Gaw et al., 1942.

Methodist Women, General Correspondence: F. F. Culley, July 18 and August 18, 1938.

Ibid., Jenny Lind, April 19, 1939.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 14-7, 1939, D. S. Tappan, April 20 and November 3, 1939.

Ibid., 14-2, 1939, Report of Christ Hospital, Kachek.

Ibid., Hainan, 1942, Nodoa Station Narrative.

United Board: Fukien Christian University, Box A No. 5, Merlin Bishop, Confidential Report to Trustees, May 7, 1941.

Ibid., Lingnan, Box 76, Clinton and Mazie Laird, January 16, 1939.

Ibid., Yenching, Roll 78, J. L. Stuart, June 15, 1938. (Microfilmed.)

MacCurdy material: M. S. Jones diary, June, 1938.

District of Shanghai Newsletter, XXIV (May, 1938), 13.

Advent Christian Missions, XIX (January, 1939), 54-55.

Outlook of Missions, XXXII (October, 1940), 284-85.

Spirit of Missions, CIII (December, 1938), 489-90.

Ibid., CIV (September, 1939), 24.

Adolph, Surgery Speaks to China, pp. 176-77.

States on July 26th, 1941.[65] Nor was the person of the missionary entirely safe from molestation by the Japanese. Occasionally a United States Protestant missionary was held by the Japanese authorities for a time,[66] or a plot was discovered which would have resulted in his arrest,[67] but more often it was an ordinary soldier who threatened his physical safety by slapping or striking him,[68] brandishing swords,

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[65] Foreign Relations of the United States, Japan: 1931-1941, I, 909-23.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXXIX, No. 682.

Ibid., Vol. LXXXV, Nos. 264, 565.

Presbyterian Library, China Missions: Tsinan Station Report, 1942.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: Shantung, 1942, Ichowfu Station Report.

Ibid., Shantung, 1942, Tenghsien Station Report.

Ibid., Hainan, 1942, Kiungchow Station Report.

Ibid., Hainan, 1942, Nodoa Station Narrative.

[66] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1938, IV, 421-50, passim.

Ibid., 1939, IV, 365, 374-81.

American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXX, No. 343.

Ibid., Vol. LXXII, No. 263.

Ibid., Vol. LXXXVI, No. 308.

Methodist Church, Department of News Releases: R. E. Brown, October 20, 1938.

Methodist Women, General Correspondence: F. F. Culley, August 18, 1938.

Commission, IV (March, 1941), 88.

Wampler, China Suffers, p. 141.

[67] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXXI, No. 321.

United Board: Yenching, Roll 78, J. L. Stuart, Memorandum, June 17, 1938. (Microfilmed.)

[68] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1938, IV, 357-524, passim.

Ibid., 1939, IV, 316.

Ibid., 1940, IV, 906-07.

bayonets, or firearms in his face,[69] or shooting at him,[70] actions which gave immediate rise to consular and diplomatic protests. Nevertheless, the number of United States Protestant missionary personnel who were killed during the years 1937 to 1941 was remarkably small. Frank Rawlinson (editor of the Chinese Recorder) and the young

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Ibid., Japan: 1931-1941, I, 570-75, 836.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LV, No. 101.
Ibid., Vol. LXX, No. 255.
Methodist Women, General Correspondence: M. C. White, 1943.
United Board: Nanking, Box 27, M. S. Bates, Excerpts from Correspondence.
Ibid., Nanking, Box 51, L. S. C. Smythe, Nanking Looting 1937.
Ibid., Lingnan Box 76, W. W. Cadbury, February 20, 1939.
Ibid., Vautrin diary, pp. 116, 306.
Letters from Miss Nettie M. Senger to author, September 27 and October 8, 1956.
Advent Christian Missions, XIX (August, 1939), 234.
Ibid., XXI (November, 1940), 10.
Outlook of Missions, XXXII (October, 1940), 285.
Hsu, Documents, pp. 23-24, 55.
Hume, Dauntless Adventurer, p. 92.
Timperley, Japanese Terror in China, pp. 90, 154-55.

[69] Methodist Church Department of News Releases: R. E. Brown, October 20, 1938.
Methodist Women, General Correspondence: F. F. Culley, January 18, 1938.
Ibid., M. C. White, 1943.
United Board: Nanking, Box 27, M. S. Bates, January 10 and March 20, 1938.
Ibid., Vautrin diary, p. 119.
Clayton, Heaven Below, p. 202.
Hsu, Documents, pp. 39-40, 46, 79.
Wampler, China Suffers, p. 56.

[70] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1938, IV, 341-415, passim.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 10-2, 1939, Showchow

daughter of a Lutheran minister in Honan died as a result of bombing raids, while three Church of the Brethren missionaries at Showyang, Shansi, were decoyed out of their compound shortly after the Japanese arrived and never heard from again.[71] However, when the perils faced by missionaries both in the combat zone and the rear areas are considered, the wonder is that in four and a half years of warfare only five perished.

United States Protestant missionaries were still more remarkably safe after the outbreak of full-scale hostilities from the regular and irregular forces of the Chinese, and even from brigands. Not one United States Protestant was reported killed or kidnapped by any of these groups during the period, though a few had to establish their identity in order to avoid detention by soldiers or irregulars[72] and early in 1941 the members of the American Board mission who traveled in districts of Shantung and Hopei controlled by the irregulars began to

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Station Report.
Heeren, On the Shantung Front, p. 188.
Hsu, Documents, pp. 39-40.

[71] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1937, IV, 262, 399-400.
Ibid., 1938, IV, 514-57, passim.
Ibid., 1939, IV, 315-409, passim.
Ibid., Japan: 1931-1941, I, 627-28, 640-41.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXVIII, Nos. 131, 141, 158.
Ibid., Vol. LXIX, No. 236.
Wampler, China Suffers, p. 28.

[72] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXX, No. 343.
Ibid., Vol. LXXXI, Nos. 245, 247.

report difficulty in obtaining passes from them.[73] Two were shot at by the bandits who robbed them,[74] but others who lost money and goods to highwaymen had at least a portion of the items returned to them,[75] and some were left unmolested after being recognized.[76] In short, the safety of United States Protestant missions and missionaries alike from armed Chinese between 1937 and 1941 was comparable to that which they had enjoyed between 1911 and 1917. Desire for foreign support combined with gratitude for the services rendered their fellow-countrymen in the invaded provinces, rather than fear of Western intervention against themselves, would have been the primary motivating force in the later period. Nevertheless, in both there was a close correlation between the physical security given by the Chinese to the United States Protestant missionaries in their midst and the respect felt for the might of Western nations. Between 1937 and 1941 Westerners

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Ibid., Vol. LXXXVII, No. 2.
China's Millions, March, 1939, p. 46.
Missionary Monthly, XLI (November, 1937), 324.

[73] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXXXIII, No. 10a.

[74] Lutheran Woman's Work, XXXIV (July, 1941), 255-56.
Skinsnes, Scalpel and Cross in Honan, pp. 216-20.

[75] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXXI, Nos. 183, 238.
Ibid., Vol. LXXII, No. 270.
United Board: Lingnan, Box 76, W. W. Cadbury, February 20, 1939.
Evangel, LVIII (July-August, 1939), 204-05.
Caldwell, China Coast Family, pp. 191-93.
White, I Was There When It Happened in China, pp. 44-59.

[76] Missionary Research Library: W. H. Oldfield,

acquired an entirely new "prestige of power" which arose out of the conditions brought about by foreign invasion. This was the position of nationals of third powers with whose activities the invader dared not interfere too harshly lest their governments interest themselves actively in the "China incident." With that prestige of power, so long as it could be used for the benefit of China, only the most doctrinaire of nationalists could quarrel.

As several United States Protestants remarked, they were the "natural guardians" for both missions and refugees in the situation produced by foreign invasion;[77] and they used their connection with the United States to the full as long as it helped the Chinese in the occupied areas. Even before the Japanese requested on August 21st, 1937, that the property of all United States nationals in China be plainly marked,[78] in the Tientsin-Peiping area the American flag had been raised over the buildings of United States mission societies.[79] Yenching University, despite its Chinese registration, was also able to fly the flag of the

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January 22, 1941.

Letters from Miss Sue Stanford to author, November 16 and December 5, 1956.

Caldwell, China Coast Family, p. 194.

White, I Was There When It Happened in China, p. 43.

[77] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LIII, No. 90.
Anking Newsletter, XVIII (November-December, 1937), 5-6.
China Colleges, VI (September, 1939), 3.

[78] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1937, IV, 271-72.

[79] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LII, Nos. 72, 76.

United States, since it was incorporated in the state of New York and retained its American president of many years' standing, J. Leighton Stuart.[80] After the spread of hostilities to the Shanghai area, the Stars and Stripes blossomed out over almost every piece of property in China which could claim ownership by United States citizens. This was true of mission properties too, though as Miss Lyda Houston in Fukien wrote, "I still gasp a bit at the way the American flag is spread about. Shades of '27!"[81] The number of United States business and mission properties in Nanking was such that "one tailor in the city spends his whole time making American flags."[82] The cloth flags spread out on the ground to mark mission properties during air-raid alerts reached a size of thirty by sixty feet.[83] Many institutions painted them on platforms and roofs,[84] and one missionary on furlough

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[80] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1937, IV, 565-68. United Board: Yenching, Roll 78, J. L. Stuart, July 31 and August 18, 1937. (Microfilmed.)

[81] American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XXIX, No. 343.

[82] United Board: Vautrin diary, p. 91.

[83] Ibid., Hangchow, Box 2, R. J. McMullen, November 20, 1937.

[84] For example:
Methodist Library, Project Files: E. C. Perkins, December 10, 1938.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 14-2, 1938, Report of Haihow Hospital.
United Board: Fukien Christian University, Box A No. 4, Eva Asher, June 28, 1938.
Annual Report of the American Presbyterian Mission,

in the United States was even advised to buy paint for the purpose before returning to China.[85] When the day of a city's occupation neared the missions in its vicinity increased the number of flags displayed. For example, Lingnan University at Canton had twenty-four placed along the edge of the campus.[86] At Wuchow, Kwangsi, Rex Ray wrote,

> I am having a big metal stencil made today so that I can easily have American flags painted on all the entrances to our buildings in Wuchow. In fact I am going to paint American flags all over everything we have in Wuchow. Brother Frank T. Woodward says that many of the Japanese soldiers cannot read, but they all know an American flag when they see it. We hope that Old Glory may lessen our perils.[87]

As invasion approached, the flags on mission-owned buildings from Taiku to Canton were joined by United States consular notices proclaiming the American ownership of the property.[88] In addition,

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Chefoo, Shantung for the Year Ending June 30, 1938 (n. p.), p. 9.
Yali Quarterly, XXII (November, 1938), 5.

[85] American Board, ABC: 16.3.18: Vol. VII, No. 286.

[86] United Board: Lingnan, Box 75, J. M. Henry, November 7, 1938.

[87] Commission, II (August, 1939), 279.

[88] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1937, IV, 355.
For example:
American Board, ABC: 16.3.5: Vol. XXXII, No. 216.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXVII, No. 106.
Ibid., Vol. LXVIII, No. 26.
Methodist Church, Department of News Releases: A. W. Billing, July 20, 1941.
Presbyterian Library, China Missions: Minutes of the Kiangan Mission Executive Committee and Emergency Committee, 1938.
United Board: Lingnan, Box 75, J. M. Henry, November 7, 1938.

United States naval signalmen stayed in Lingnan University at Canton and the American Baptist compound at Swatow during the first two or three weeks of Japanese rule, so that instant contact could be established with the naval vessels in the harbor in case of emergency.[89] Japanese military commanders wrote protective placards, almost all of which were effective, for the gates of missions from Shansi to Fukien and Hunan.[90] Though the notices posted by the Japanese consul on foreign

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[89] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1939, IV, 346-47.
American Baptist Foreign Mission Society files: K. G. Hobart, Annual Report for 1939.
United Board: Lingnan, Box 75, J. M. Henry, November 9, 1938.

[90] American Baptist Foreign Mission Society files: Mrs. R. E. Stannard, August 1, 1941.
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXVII, No. 106.
Methodist Women, General Correspondence: M. C. White, 1943.
Missionary Research Library: Foreign Missions Conference Committee on Relief in China Bulletin, 1938.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: Hunan, 1942, Fragments from the Hunan Mission.
MacCurdy material: Nansuchow Station Letter, May-June, 1938.
Ibid., M. S. Jones diary, June, 1938.
Anking Newsletter, XVIII (January-February, 1938), 16-19.
China Christian Advocate, XXVI (March, 1939), 12.
National Christian Council of China Bulletin, No. 36 (April 16, 1939), p. 4.
China's Millions, April, 1939, p. 56.
Advent Christian Missions, XVIII (October, 1938), 274-76.
Ibid., XXI (November, 1940), 11.
Friends Oriental News, XXIX (June, 1938), 8.
The Missionary, II (February, 1939), 21-22.
Ibid., IV (April, 1941), 32.
Ibid., V (April, 1942), 27-29.
Caldwell, China Coast Family, p. 187.
Clayton, Heaven Below, p. 196.

properties at Nanking failed to deter his countrymen from entering them,[91] the consular police sent to the University of Nanking and Ginling College by the Japanese embassy were of some assistance.[92] In other towns and cities Japanese army officers reinforced the written character by placing sentries or military police at mission stations.[93]

With such tangible evidences of the special position of the mission compound as United States flags and proclamations or Japanese notices and guards to ensure the security of those within, it is not surprising that Chinese who for one reason or another had not left their community before it fell into Japanese hands crowded into mission properties as the invading army arrived. In December of 1937, before the narratives of atrocities committed by Japanese soldiers which were written by the few Westerners who remained in Nanking during the

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Hume, Dauntless Adventurer, pp. 91-92.
Skinsnes, Scalpel and Cross in Honan, pp. 230-32.
Wampler, China Suffers, p. 107.

[91] "Nanking," District of Shanghai Newsletter, XXIV (February, 1938), 22.

[92] United Board: Nanking, Box 51, L. S. C. Smythe, Nanking Looting 1937,
Ibid., Vautrin diary, pp. 119-57.

[93] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXX, No. 322.
Methodist Women, General Correspondence: M. C. White, 1943.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 19-2, 1937, Narrative Report of the North China Mission.
Ibid., 19-2, 1938, Report of Shuntehfu Station.
MacCurdy material: M. S. Jones diary, June, 1938.
The Missionary, II (November, 1939), 8-9.
Ibid., IV (June, 1941), 33.

early occupation had been published,[94] it was still psychologically possible for missionaries to wish in writing that they did not have the protected status which caused the Chinese to come to them.[95] The conflict of conscience, in other words, was reawakened as they found themselves possessed of a new prestige of power. However, after the opening of 1938 not a dissenting pen seems to have been wielded among United States Protestants. The real need of non-combatants in the invaded territories for whatever protection they could find from the less disciplined of their conquerors was only too apparent. On humanitarian grounds alone the missionaries' use of their nationality for the benefit of those around them was justified in the sight of all except perhaps some of the invaders. Moreover, a number of them realized that their efforts were furthering China's effort to maintain herself as an independent and united nation, though few went so far as Walter Judd, who after the occupation of his station in Shansi returned to the United States with the specific purpose of enlisting his countrymen as active allies

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[94]For example, American audiences read:
Timperley, Japanese Terror in China, pp. 15-60.
"The Sack of Nanking," Reader's Digest, XXXIII (July, 1938), 28-31.
"'We Were in Nanking,'" Reader's Digest, XXXIII (October, 1938), 41-44.

[95]For example:
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXVIII, Nos. 26, 84.
Methodist Women, General Correspondence: Jenny Lind, December 13, 1937.

of the Chinese people.[96] The missionaries' compatriots in treaty ports were by their presence helping to keep those cities openly on the side of the Hankow-Chungking government rather than on that of the puppet regime set up by the Japanese;[97] the missionaries themselves were helping to keep alive the Chinese population in more remote Japanese-dominated areas.

Not only within their own compounds were United States Protestant missionaries in the towns and cities of the Hwang and Yangtze valleys able to provide protection for the Chinese during the days immediately after Japanese occupation. As in the years from 1911 to 1925, they went to the rescue of non-combatants outside their walls. They made trips to bring into the mission station Chinese (usually women or girls) who feared to be seen on the street yet wished to be within a mission's walls.[98] They frequently acted as escorts for those who ventured out of the compound to obtain water and supplies either for themselves or for the entire refugee community.[99] Perhaps a Chinese suggested to

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[96] John W. Masland, "Missionary Influence upon American Far Eastern Policy," Pacific Historical Review, X (September, 1941), 279-96.

[97] Fishel, pp. 197-98.

[98] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LV, No. 101.
Ibid., Vol. LXVIII, No. 131.
Methodist Church, Department of News Releases: R. E. Brown, December 17, 1937.
Letter from Mrs. M. J. Krieger to author, December 20, 1955.
Advent Christian Missions, XVIII (October, 1938), 273-74.

[99] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXVIII, No. 317.

the Japanese who wanted his daughter or his mule that they ask the American plainly visible a few hundred feet down the road what he thought of the idea.[100] The American himself might ask for the return of those who had left his compound on errands but had been seized despite their identifying badges.[101] The use on the street of armbands or badges to identify mission refugees was by no means uncommon, though the American flag was still more popular.[102] Even after the first month or so of

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Ibid., Vol. LXIX, No. 228.
Ibid., Vol. LXXI, No. 94.
Methodist Women, General Correspondence: M. C. White, 1943.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 10-2, 1938, Kiangan Mission Narrative Report.
MacCurdy material: Nansuchow Station Letter, June, 1938.
Letter from Deaconess Gertrude Stewart to author, March 20, 1956.
Yihsien Speaks, p. 5.
Anking Newsletter, XVIII (January-February, 1938), 17-18.
Five Continents, XIV (October, 1941), 5.
Far Eastern Bulletin, Foreign Missions Conference, Series B, No. 22, August 5, 1938.
Missionary Tidings, XLIII (November, 1939), 329.

[100] MacCurdy material: H. R. MacCurdy, "This Is War!" (diary, 1938), p. 14.
Ibid., Nansuchow Station Letter, June, 1938.

[101] Methodist Church, Department of News Releases: R. E. Brown, December 17, 1937.

[102] For example:
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LV, No. 121.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 20-2, 1938, A. B. Dodd, March 26, 1938.
United Board: Lingnan, Box 77, W. E. MacDonald, June 14, 1939.
Ibid., Yenching, Roll 78, J. L. Stuart, November 1,

occupation, from Peiping to Canton Americans still on occasion had to escort Chinese connected with their institutions.[103] Their chief means of helping the Chinese not actually within their enclosures, however, were letters and visits to both American and Japanese officials or to the latters' Chinese agents. These letters and calls might be undertaken for almost any non-combatant who could possibly be regarded as having some connection with a United States Protestant mission,[104]

1937. (Microfilmed.)

MacCurdy material: Nansuchow Station Letter, June, 1938.

Advent Christian Missions, XVIII (October, 1938), 275.

Far Eastern Bulletin, Foreign Missions Conference, Series B, No. 22, August 5, 1938.

[103] Methodist Women, General Correspondence: Jenny Lind, April 19, 1939.

United Board: Hangchow, Box 2, R. J. McMullen, March-April, 1938.

Ibid., Lingnan, Box 77, W. E. MacDonald, June 14, 1939.

Ibid., Yenching, Carton 2, Notices from the President's Office, September 17 and 25, 1937.

Ibid., Yenching, Box N No. 2, Newsletter, Faculty Letters 1937-1938, L. C. Porter, October 1, 1937.

Ibid., Yenching, Roll 78, J. L. Stuart, October 17, 1938. (Microfilmed.)

[104] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LII, Nos. 146, 331.

Ibid., Vol. LXVII, Nos. 313, 317, 318.

Ibid., Vol. LXIX, No. 251.

Ibid., Vol. LXXI, Nos. 274, 311, 320, 327.

Ibid., Vol. LXXII, No. 307.

Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 19-2, 1940, "Paotingfu 1939-1940" (Scrapbook).

United Board: Yenching, Roll 78, J. L. Stuart, October 17, 1938, enclosures. (Microfilmed.)

Ibid., Yenching, Roll 79, J. L. Stuart, January 10 and October 9, 1939, and December 16, 1940. (Microfilmed.)

Ibid., Yenching, Roll 79, J. L. Stuart, "The Case of Mr. Shen Yi-sheng" (manuscript). (Microfilmed.)

even if it were only the tenuous one of acquaintanceship with the mission's existence. Miss M. L. Vautrin at Nanking, for example, worked until April of 1938 to learn the fates and if possible (that is, if the men were still living) to win the freedom of the husbands and sons taken in mid-December of 1937 from over two thousand women of the city and its environs.[105] During the succeeding two years, before her health broke in May of 1940, she was frequently prevailed upon to write letters seeking to prevent everything from the tearing down of a house to the shooting of a watchdog which had bitten a trespassing soldier.[106] Only rarely before 1940 was it believed that the expressed interest of a United States citizen might make matters worse for a particular Chinese who had been taken into custody.[107] The percentage of releases which followed the missionaries' efforts remained high through the spring of 1939. After that, however, Japanese-inspired anti-foreign and anti-mission

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Letter from Miss Nettie M. Senger to author, September 27, 1956.

Foreign Missionary, LIX (November, 1939), 4.
Missionary Tidings, XLIII (November, 1939), 329.
Adolph, Surgery Speaks to China, pp. 178-79, 193-94.
"New Order in East Asia," p. 19.

[105] United Board: Vautrin diary, pp. 144-255, passim.

[106] Ibid., Vautrin diary, pp. 248-518, passim.

[107] American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXVII, No. 313.
Ibid., Vol. LXXI, No. 310.
Ibid., Vol. LXXII, No. 18.
United Board: Vautrin diary, p. 347.

propaganda and activities succeeded not only in perturbing the United States Department of State but in driving a number of British, Canadian, and American missionaries out of Honan and Shansi.[108] From 1940 on most of those who had gone to the authorities on behalf of their Chinese neighbors curbed their humane impulses lest they do more harm than good. In Chinese-held territory their relatively few chronicled attempts to help Chinese suspected of collaboration remained effective throughout the period covered in this chapter.[109]

The services which missionaries were able to render to Chinese who remained in the areas occupied by Japan were, as has been shown, many and varied. United States Protestants were of great value in saving the lives of noncombatants in recently-captured communities. In addition, having gone to the Far East with the elevation of the respect in which women were held there as one of their leading secondary goals, they exerted themselves to the utmost to preserve women of all ages and conditions from the less chaste among the invaders. The small city

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[108] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1939, IV, 359-423, passim.
Ibid., Japan: 1931-1941, I, 851-57.
China's Millions, November, 1939, pp. 170-72.
Honan Quarterly, VIII (January, 1940), 2-13.
Wampler, China Suffers, pp. 159-75.

[109] For example:
American Board, ABC: 16.3.12: Vol. LXIX, Nos. 235, 264.
Ibid., Vol. LXXXI, No. 245.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 14-7, 1939, D. S. Tappan, March 27, 1939.
Skinsnes, Scalpel and Cross in Honan, pp. 230-35.

of Hwaiyuan, at the junction of the Hwai and Kwoh rivers in central Anhwei, offers a particularly good example of life in a United States Protestant mission station during the months immediately preceding and following its surrender. Not only have pertinent sections of the diaries, letters, and reports of three of the seven American Presbyterians there at the time been preserved, but the experiences of the group there included most of the types that have been sketched in the preceding pages. From the available documents, supplemented by an interview with one of the three, Miss Hattie R. MacCurdy, the outline of those months may be reconstructed in some detail.

As Christmas was being observed among the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics of Hwaiyuan in 1937, Chinese troops were retreating by the tens of thousands through the city. Dr. R. J. McCandliss, who with six single women (nurses and teachers) comprised the unevacuated portion of the American Presbyterian mission force, dealt with

> various groups of soldiers that had elected to bivouac in our various schools and chapels about the city and . . . found them invariably tractable and willing--although reluctant--to vacate our property when spoken to pleasantly but firmly.[110]

The mission schools were closed by then, and preparations for the expected influx of refugees had begun. By February 2nd, 1938, only a few had arrived, but the dropping of bombs--during which the Japanese spared the section of the city in which the mission, with large American

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[110]MacCurdy material: R. J. McCandliss (general letter), December 25, 1937.

flags on several roofs, was located--brought two thousand women and children to the boys' school compound in a few hours. Much of the remnant of that part of the population of the city which had not fled to the west or to country relatives during the preceding month followed the original two thousand either before or after the Japanese entry the next day. At the most crowded period five thousand were packed into the six neighboring enclosures of the boys', girls', and women's schools, the men's and women's hospitals, and the missionaries' residence compound. The hospitals sent all except the families of their staffs to the other compounds, so that they might have room left for patients. None were allowed to bring more than the bare necessities of food, bedding, and clothing with them. Chickens, ducks, geese, goats, pigs, and cows were permitted, though, to ensure a supply of eggs, milk, and meat. When the first Japanese appeared on the streets, one entrance at each of the six compounds was left open with a flag outside and a missionary sitting inside as gatekeeper. One of the missionaries lost a quilt, a flashlight, and a few supplies to some of her visitors that day, and Dr. McCandliss was called to help another turn out a soldier who was insisting upon being given a woman; but a friendly army doctor brought the battalion major, who posted a guard of seven at the street on which all the mission compounds opened. Next day the army doctor brought three Japanese wounded (of whom two recovered) to the men's hospital, and wrote a placard for it

> stating that their soldiers had been treated here, and commending us to their grateful protection. He also posted orders in the name of the commanding officer to forbid soldiers molesting our refugee camps.[111]

Though the next two days were quiet for the mission station, on the 6th, a Sunday, the missionaries did not attend the church service held in the chapel on one compound. They feared that "without a foreign face to back it up, a flag over the door might not offer protection to the crowds of refugees."[112] More Japanese began coming to the city that day, which increased the number of soldiers who visited--and also enlarged the size of the refugee community, as women in their fifties and sixties found that age was no longer sufficient to protect them from assault. It was very difficult for Dr. McCandliss to persuade a few of the Japanese to leave women refugees unmolested, but during the first month of the occupation only once did he fail altogether. His success was due in part to an alarm-bell system hastily contrived to connect each of the other five compounds with his. He and one or two of his companions, in fact, were able more than once by their presence on a street to save women who had stayed in nearby houses in the hope that mere proximity to the mission would suffice to preserve them. That hope died long before the end of the month. Miss MacCurdy wrote on the 19th of February,

> Our neighbors are coming to us as refugees. They thought they would be undisturbed, because of being so near to us, and it is

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[111] Ibid., Hwaiyuan Station Report, 1937-38.

[112] Ibid., MacCurdy, "This Is War!," p. 2.

> true that this street was more peaceful at the beginning of this occupation; but their homes are now being invaded and possessions carried off, and they themselves are in sudden danger. From three courts, these frightened people climbed over their walls into our hospital and the school compounds.[113]

The aged Italian priest, alone with two thousand refugees in another part of the city, was less successful than Dr. McCandliss in prevailing upon those who visited his community to respect the women among them, though he shielded them as best he could. Shocked by the indiscriminate shooting and stabbing he saw on the streets--on one day three friends of the Presbyterian missionaries were among those killed--as well as by the violations occurring within his own walls, the priest took a list of complaints to the commander of the Japanese forces; but the situation remained the same for some time. Women continued to come to the Presbyterian compounds until the end of February, while the men who remained outside the refuges hid themselves as much as possible. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that throughout the month expeditions outside the Presbyterian compounds to carry water and supplies or to wash clothes were accompanied by a missionary. Nor is it astonishing that upon finding that both the Presbyterian church in the heart of the city and a small leased compound only a block from the mission station had been plundered, it was decided not to fly American flags there lest they too be destroyed.[114] It is hardly even to be

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[113] Ibid., MacCurdy, "This Is War!," p. 14.

[114] The church was in fact destroyed when the Japanese burned the section of the city nearest to the river late in February in order to guard against guerrilla landings.

wondered at that a few of the men who returned to their homes for provisions under the protection of a mission refugee badge succumbed to the temptation to do a bit of looting in their neighbors' houses, though one man was expelled for attempting to bring his new acquisitions into the mission's grounds.

Through it all the missionaries remained cool and collected in the face of the many groups of Japanese who used part of their off-duty hours to visit these foreigners who at times served tea and played a piano or phonograph for them. As Miss MacCurdy put it, "I try to entertain them so that they will not take too great an interest in our women refugees."[115] "February, the Longest Month of the War in Hwaiyuan," Dr. McCandliss entitled his diary-report for that month; and so it must have seemed not only to him but to his fellow-workers who were having to greet tens of groups of callers in one day. Truly, Miss MacCurdy had reason to wonder at "the really extraordinary clemency with which we have been treated and our associates and the refugees also because they are within our gates."[116] After the first month, conditions began

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[115] MacCurdy material: MacCurdy, "This Is War!," p. 6.

[116] Ibid., MacCurdy, "This Is War!," p. 16.
Account taken from:
Ibid., MacCurdy, "This Is War!"
Ibid., Hwaiyuan Station Report, 1937-38.
Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 10-2, 1938, R. J. McCandliss, "February, the Longest Month of the War, in Hwaiyuan."
Presbyterian Library, Chinese-Japanese War: "Trials of a Missionary," China Information Service, No. 11, September 15, 1938, pp. 3-8.
Interview with Miss Hattie R. MacCurdy, January 11, 1957.

to improve; yet not until August 18th did she write that enough men and older women had left so that the hospital compounds could be cleared of refugees. At that time younger women were still not safe in the city or its suburbs. Not till the end of September were the schools emptied of those who had stayed in them for six months and more, and even then a few girls remained "under special arrangements."[117] Reinforcements for the mission staff only arrived late in July. It took until October to complete negotiations for the return by the Japanese of a chapel commandeered during April in a nearby city.[118] In all, the Hwaiyuan American Presbyterian mission station could not be said to have returned to a precarious version of normalcy for fully eight months after the occupation of the city.

Thus during the first half of the full-scale war in the Far East, United States Protestant missionaries, like their companion workers both Protestant and Roman Catholic in all the endangered provinces of China, earned the gratitude and praise of Christians and non-Christians high and low for their efforts to aid the Chinese. Not only did they undertake relief work of all descriptions; they acted as guardians in the hour of danger. The latter aspect of their labors in wartorn China was succinctly depicted by United States Consul R. Y. Jarvis of Hankow when in advocating the establishment of a safety zone there he wrote,

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[117] MacCurdy material: H. R. MacCurdy, August 18 and October 4, 1938.

[118] Presbyterian U. S. A., Reports: 10-2, 1938, Hwaiyuan Station.

> At Nanking under appallingly difficult circumstances and without official support, and at many towns in the interior, small groups of devoted missionaries, cut off from contact with the outside world, have been able to safeguard much of their missions' property, to save thousands of innocent Chinese from violence and death, and to exert a restraining influence on the occupation. At Hankow . . . conditions are not less favorable for the maintenance of foreign rights, the protection of foreign interests, the curbing of barbarism, and the performance of a great humanitarian work.[119]

It was not only the United States Protestant's position as a citizen of a powerful neutral that enabled him to perform those services, but his privileged status under the treaties between the United States and China. As long as Japan was not a formal belligerent, she dared not contravene these treaty provisions. Therefore throughout the years 1937 to 1941 he was able to protect the Chinese around him as he had in the vanished years before 1928. He did not shield them from their fellow-countrymen, however. Never again did he have the power in Chinese affairs which he had possessed, regardless of whether or not he desired it, between the Boxer uprising and the May 30th incident a quarter of a century later. It was from an alien invader that the Chinese fled to him in this, the last period of the United States Protestant mission compound's temporal role as a harbor of peace in the midst of the tempests.

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[119] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1938, IV, 479.

CONCLUSION

The entry of Britain and the United States into the Pacific war on the side of China meant that their nationals in the occupied areas of China were enemy aliens to the Japanese rulers. Consequently the privileges of Britons and Americans in occupied China were taken from them overnight. With this cessation of the applicability of extra-territoriality and related provisions in a large portion of China, and with the concomitant alliance of Chungking with Washington and London, the time was ripe for the formal renunciation of the whole structure of special rights which had been built up over the years. On January 11th, 1943, China signed treaties with Britain and the United States which put an end to the extraterritorial and other privileges which had been the basis of their citizens' position in China for just over a century. The foundation upon which had arisen the use of British and American mission compounds as refuges, and the missionaries' function as protectors, was thereby removed. Thereafter any shelter or assistance which they rendered to Chinese would be due entirely to their personal standing in the communities in which they dwelt. The personal as opposed to national prestige of the United States Protestant missionary with whom this study deals had always been a factor in

his ability to assume the role of guardian, however. As Joseph Bailie of the University of Nanking wrote after the sack of the city in 1913 by the government troops which put down the rebellion of that year in the Yangtze valley,

> . . . our compounds were used to the utmost as asylums for the people, but especially for women to save them from rape. That one fact of getting their womenfolk huddled by the thousands into compounds where there were only foreign men speaks a lot for their regard for us. [1]

Moreover, the establishment by United States Protestants and others of institutions which sought to heal the bodies and instruct the minds of the Chinese around them placed them nearer to the Confucian category of men of jen 仁 or benevolence than to the antithetical class of men of li 利 or profit-seeking to whom their compatriots in commercial pursuits corresponded. Thus in Chinese eyes missionaries possessed a relatively high rank among "foreign barbarians," despite the fact that their primary purpose was to transform China's basic system of values. In any event, the status of United States Protestants as privileged foreign nationals had underlain the protective function which they fulfilled in Chinese affairs until 1928 and in the struggle between China and Japan until December of 1941. The abrogation of the treaty provisions in which their special position had been defined marked the end of the era of the use of their mission compounds as places of safety.

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[1] "A Tribute to Dr. Macklin," Missionary Intelligencer, XXVII (January, 1914), 14.

What significance did the service which United States Protestant missionaries rendered in the decades before 1941 to hundreds of thousands of Chinese, first as guardians of the members of the young Christian church and then as protectors of noncombatants in the civil and international strife of the twentieth century, have for the history of contemporary China? That is the basic question with which it is necessary to come to grips now that the development of the phenomenon of mission refuges has been traced. The most obvious answer, of course, lies in the lives which were saved. Though but few of the many Chinese whom the missionaries protected were of such political, economic, or social importance that they were known outside of their local communities, in the aggregate their numbers ran into the millions. The humanitarianism of the missionaries, who took in those who came to them up to the very limit of their enclosures' capacity, meant that no particular group or class could be said to have gained a special advantage from the use of mission compounds as asylums in the struggle for existence in twentieth-century China, except for the meaninglessly broad category of women and children. It was in human, rather than political, terms that the missionaries thought who were giving what assistance they could to their neighbors. Nevertheless, both they and the Chinese were fully aware that their ability to protect Chinese from the lawless elements of society rested upon the hard political fact of their own citizenship in a state whose armed might

was greater than that of the disturbers of China's peace. For the missionaries this realization posed the dilemma of whether or not to utilize the privileges accorded them because of their nationality, even for the preservation of their fellow-men. For the Chinese it posed the task of strengthening themselves so as to be able, by the suppression of elements of strife and discord and the formation of a united nation, to gain the Western world's ungrudging recognition as an equal.

The succor given by missionaries to Chinese both within and without their compounds was regarded by its beneficiaries as of great value. Certainly the women of the strife-ridden provinces of China had reason to be grateful for the refuge afforded them by mission enclosures when predatory bands roved the countryside. F. M. Pyke, who served in the north from 1913 onward, has written of his years in China,

> The world has little idea of the insecurity of life and property in the rural areas of China in the first three decades of the Chinese Republic. On the great North China plain from the Yangtze Valley to the Great Wall, law and order disappeared at sundown. Roving bands of marauders attacked their wealthier neighbors, carrying off members of their family to be held for ransom. Villages and towns threw up earth ramparts and dug moats. Each family purchased fire-arms. The various households were connected by a system of wires and bells, so that if one was attacked the others could come to the rescue. In addition the members took turns in standing watch through the night, and from ten o'clock on until dawn the hours were punctured with fusillades of rifle-shots, whether to frighten off would-be bandits, or in actual self-defence. . . .
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> . . . . . .

> . . . The old order broke up slowly and to the accompaniment of social unrest. The period of the war-lords came in, and for nearly twenty years the land was devoured by military rivalries. Competing war-lords drenched the country in blood. Huge, irresponsible armies moved across the map, levying taxes and drafting animals and manpower, as they built up strength to meet the challenge of some other free-booting general.
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> During this period, and extending into the time when the Japanese launched their "continental expansion", the local Churches and the mission compounds were a godsend. At the approach of danger, women and girls, would flock to Church premises by the hundreds and live there until the danger was past, i. e. armies had withdrawn or the victorious army attempted to rule the district and provide security of person. Sometimes a large body of regulars would break away from its command, perhaps because of discriminatory treatment, failure to receive back pay or sufficient food, and "take to the road".
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> Such an "army" was General Liu Kuei-T'ang's in 1934. He revolted with 5,000 troops, and by following provincial borders, where the governing powers were not so clearly defined, he was able to remain in the field for months, collecting money and grain from unwilling towns and even capturing walled cities and looting them. As the loot piled up and the baggage trains lengthened, his mobility was sacrificed, and loyal troops finally dispersed the renegades.
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> The people in the path of such forces were fortunate, if they had Churches or Mission compounds where they could take refuge.[2]

Fortunate indeed, so long as a "free-booting general" feared to risk the loss of his precarious position by inviting the foreign retaliation that might follow any harm done to foreign persons and properties. The Manchu officials who avoided displeasing a foreigner lest their superiors hearing of it dismiss them, the participants in the revolution of 1911-12 who left foreign property untouched lest its owners ask intervention against their cause, the generals who wished not only to

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[2]Letter from F. M. Pyke to author, September 5, 1956.

avert foreign interference with their activities but in later years hoped to win foreign aid, and finally the Japanese who similarly felt it advisable not to provoke too sharply the Western world from which came the missionaries whom they found in China--all were motivated by fear of the armed might on which the status of a foreign resident in China rested. The prestige of power was the necessary basis of the mission compound's ability to give asylum to its neighbors, though it was not in itself sufficient to attract those who came to it for safety.

In the years preceding 1911, when the missionaries' ability to aid Chinese who were troubled by their fellows was being established through their assistance to Christian converts, the remark of Nathaniel Peffer that by this means "the impotence of the Chinese government was glaringly advertised not only to the politically conscious in the larger centers but to the masses throughout the land"[3] was borne out by some of the purposes to which Chinese (with or without the missionaries' knowledge) turned the treaty statements granting liberty of conscience to all who professed Christianity. The secretary of the International Missionary Council, the Rev. A. L. Warnshuis, himself a former missionary in China, had said much the same thing half a decade earlier than Peffer when he wrote in an article on the status of missionaries in China,

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[3]Nathaniel Peffer, China: The Collapse of a Civilization (New York: The John Day Company, 1930), pp. 73-74.

> . . . the very serious disadvantage that arose out of the placing of Chinese Christians under the protection of foreign powers must be recognized. To be sure, it was only as protectors of the faith of the converts that a foreign power could legally intervene, but in practice the result was to separate the Chinese Christians from the mass of their fellow countrymen, and to make of them an enclave under the defense of aliens. So much was this the case, that until comparatively recent years the Chinese authorities unwisely but persistently made a sharp distinction in the terms used to describe Christian and other Chinese subjects. Moreover, because of this protection, there were brought into the churches those with unworthy motives who feigned conversion. These clauses were a serious blow to the prestige and sovereignty of the Chinese State as they practically removed Chinese Christians from its jurisdiction.[4]

Before the Boxer uprising, as we have seen, United States Protestants realized and deplored the power which the toleration clause and the treaty clauses defining their own status had given them. Their conflict of conscience over the possible uses of the prestige of power which they possessed led them to take steps to put an end to the special position that a number of Chinese professing a connection with Christianity had succeeded in carving out for themselves. By the time of the anti-Manchu revolution, hardly a United States Protestant in China continued to go to the yamens for his adherents, and the few who did were, in their own estimation, acting only as character witnesses rather than as upholders of the legal provisions for the toleration of Christianity.[5] However, the temporal prestige of the missionary was

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[4]Missionary Research Library: A. L. Warnshuis, "The Status of Missionaries in China," Conference on American Relations with China (September, 1925), Preliminary Paper IV.

[5]Except in the special case of a mission to the Tai tribes established during the 1920's. See Chapter VI, note 157.

built up during those years by the degree of protection afforded him not only by his own government's personnel in China but more reluctantly by the Chinese administration. Moreover, he had shown himself during the months following the Boxer uprising to be willing to protect Christians and non-Christians alike from marauding soldiers even though the latter were Westerners like himself. Therefore it was not at all unnatural that when in 1911 both revolutionists and imperialists proclaimed their intention of respecting foreign property, thousands, both Manchu and Chinese, flocked to missions all over China wherever soldiers were active. During the next twelve years, only a few of the mission refuges were violated, for the spell of foreign strength saved them from those who were not swayed by humanitarian arguments.

With the entry of Soviet propaganda, however, the resentment against foreign privileges which had lain dormant since 1900 roused afresh. The strength of anti-British sentiment within the anti-foreign movement of the mid-1920's, inflamed as it was by the incidents of May and June, 1925, induced Britain before the end of 1926 to propose to the other powers in China that they "abandon the policy of ineffective protest over minor matters."[6] This virtual relinquishment of the exercise of force which had maintained the prestige of power possessed

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[6] Foreign Relations of the United States, 1926, I, 925.

by British subjects in China, complemented as it was by the United States' attitude during the Northward Expedition of displaying "the greatest forbearance, not desiring by overinsistence upon its rights to hinder the reunification of China,"[7] meant that Western nationals in general and United States Protestant missionaries in particular lost the prestige of power which had enabled them to protect Chinese during times of civil strife. Before 1930 the temper of the public and the steps taken by the Peking and Nanking governments toward the ending of extraterritorial privileges had combined to make them virtually ineffective outside of the larger foreign settlements, so far as the ability which they had conferred upon mission compounds to protect Chinese from their fellow-countrymen was concerned. In addition, restrictions were placed upon the teaching of religion in mission schools, for during the 1920's anti-foreign propaganda had been flanked by anti-Christian and anti-mission movements as well.

Yet once more the missionary was to safeguard his Chinese neighbors from the horrors of war and occupation; and the courage with which he rose to the demands made upon him during the struggle with Japan met with a warm response from those whose compatriots he aided. The Chinese Christian who pleaded in the pages of the Chinese Recorder that missionaries use the status which on paper they

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[7] Ibid., 1928, II, 251-52.

had retained throughout the 1930's, writing,

> For a long time . . . many missionaries have wished that they did not have . . . special treaty privileges, because they have felt that their work would be better understood without them, and also because the misuse of these "rights" by certain groups often tended to put the missionary cause in a light unfavorable to its success. But still some persons have believed that these special rights were useful. As I see it, if they may be useful in certain times and under certain conditions, then now is the very time and the present situation in the occupied areas is the very condition. In the past many of the Chinese people have been greatly grieved because the foreign missionaries have made use of special treaty privileges; I think that today full compensation can be made for that if the missionaries will demand and use those privileges to the full. They should use this right to travel everywhere they like in the occupied areas without any interference, and to do the very urgent relief work for the Chinese war refugees without any fear.[8]

must have been gratified if he lived to see the following passages from an editorial printed in a Chinese magazine which up till then had been noted for its hostility to mission work:

> One of the many things that have come out of the present war has been the realization that, whatever doubts may have existed in the past, the Christian missions in China fully and indisputably justify their existence in this country. . . . Caught in the flood of terror and destruction which the Japanese army spread everywhere in its wake, the missionaries courageously stood their ground . . . as the Japanese army broke through the defences, the mission compounds provided the one safe refuge for the terrorized population as it fled before the invading troops. . . .
>
> Today, after two years of hostilities, the Christian missions in China have built for themselves a record of which they can justly be proud. They have preached the gospel, not with words but by a practical demonstration of the love of God and the brotherhood of man. They have definitely found their place in

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[8] A Chinese Christian, "A Momentous Opportunity," Chinese Recorder, LXIX (September, 1938), 459.

the life of the nation, fulfilling great human needs in its time of deepest travail.[9]

The heroic labors of missionaries and of other Westerners who joined them in affording protection to the conquered as the Japanese war machine rolled over north and central China in the fall and winter of 1937 were chronicled for Western audiences by Hanson, Hsu, and Timperley,[10] among others. They were also appreciated by the Kuomintang government. As the wife of the chief of state, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, stated in a speech to an April, 1938, gathering of her fellow-Christians, the missionaries of the Wuhan cities,

> . . . words are inadequate to express our thanks to the whole missionary body in China, who have stood so loyally to their ground in spite of Japanese threats and abuse, and to those foreigners who have shown their sympathy with us in practical ways, and who have been, and are, articulate eye-witnesses to the scandalous behavior of Japanese troops on Chinese soil. The fact that you not only risked your lives in succouring the wounded, but also helped the destitute, and saved many of our women and girls from a fate worse than death, and gave hope and support to all the refugees, has moved the whole Chinese nation to a sense of appreciation of the true Christian spirit which animated you in your actions. . . .
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> Some years ago the Government issued an order which forbade religion to be made a compulsory study in any private school. Many of you felt that policy to be unfair, and contrary to the principles of missionary enterprise. I, myself, received many

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[9] Quotation from the China Critic in "Christian Missions in China," Presbyterian Survey, XXIX (December, 1939), 565, 576.

[10] Haldore Hanson, "Humane Endeavour" (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1939).

Hsu, War Conduct of the Japanese.

Timperley, Japanese Terror in China.

> letters from your colleagues asking me to use my influence to have this order rescinded. While sympathizing with, and understanding, the motive which prompted the writers, I felt that the time was not yet ripe for the Government to rescind the order even if such an action then could have been made possible. We know enough about psychology to understand that any rule which is enforced without the consent and the good-will of those concerned is little better than not having this rule, because it would then only be obeyed in the letter and not in the spirit. . . .
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> . . . . . .
>
> It gives me very great pleasure, therefore, today, to tell you that by your work and the spirit that underlies it, you have made manifest the meaning of true Christianity. The results of your efforts are so appreciated by the Government and the people that the Generalissimo has now found it possible to have that law forbidding religion to be compulsorily taught in Christian schools amended so that religious subjects may henceforth be taught in registered mission schools. This decision is the greatest testimony in the history of China of our appreciation of the value of the real, vital contribution that Christianity has made to the spiritual well-being and the livelihood of our people. I am pleased to say that you have had the leading share in making this realization possible, by interpreting practical Christianity in its widest sense.[11]

One wonders if during her visit to Chengtu in 1935 she had been told of the placard which appeared on its streets the day after the riots of 1895, admonishing the missionaries,

> At the present time when Japan has usurped Chinese territory you English, French, and Americans have looked on with your hands in your sleeves. If in future you wish to preach your doctrines in China you must drive the Japanese back to their own country, then you will be allowed to preach your holy Gospel throughout the country without let or hindrance.[12]

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[11] May-ling Soong Chiang, War Messages and Other Selections (Hankow: 1938), pp. 30, 33-34.

[12] Cunningham, History of the Szechwan Riots, p. xxx.

Whether or not those words were in the back of her mind as she prepared her talk, it was a striking circumstance that forty-three years after those characters were written the wife of the head of the Chinese government should have proclaimed in effect that because "at the present time when Japan has usurped Chinese territory you English, French, and Americans have [not] looked on with your hands in your sleeves . . . you will be allowed to preach your holy Gospel throughout the country without let or hindrance." Here indeed was balm to soothe the missionaries' conflict of conscience over their use of the prestige of power for the protection of their fellow-men. No need to condemn themselves as they had in the declining years of the Manchu dynasty for interfering with the workings of government--they were assisting the government in the preservation of China's people. No need to question themselves as they had in the years of the Kuomintang's rise to power as to whether or not their use of their nationality might tend to continue the divisions among the Chinese--they were aiding the defensive efforts of a united nation against a foreign aggressor. Moreover, their erstwhile opponents now assured them that their services were welcomed. The explanation for these radical changes in attitude lies, of course, in the fact that the Westerner from 1937 to 1941 was a third party in a duel between two nations rather than an outsider in the midst of internecine struggles.

Nevertheless, throughout the period explored in this study

there was a substratum of resentment against the Western power in China which underlay the aid given by missionaries to Chinese in both civil and international struggles. It was forcibly brought home to the writer by an interview with a prominent Chinese. He spoke of his boyhood in a north China village, where in 1900 his grandfather and some forty other leading men had been saved from the execution which an international punitive expedition intended to mete out to them by the British missionary who was traveling as interpreter with the soldiers--in return, the grandson said, for a promise of land and indemnity money as recompense for the acts committed in that region by Boxers. A mission school was set up in part of his family's compound, which he attended; but when in a soccer game a British teacher who was substituting on the visiting team happened to kick the captain, the brawl that ensued led to the school's severing its mission connection. He was too young to be on the team himself, but he was one of the boys who left the school in protest against the foreigner's action. When he went away for further education, he joined the anti-Christian movement of the 1920's. Later, as missionaries in Japanese-seized areas exerted themselves on behalf of the Chinese around them, he gave up the active antipathy to mission work which the experiences of his boyhood had instilled into him; but the bitterness in his voice as he spoke of that soccer game over forty years before betrayed the continuing existence of something of the same feeling of humiliated and outraged pride on

which every anti-foreign movement in China since the opening of the first treaty ports in 1842 has built itself.

Since World War Two, the victorious Chinese Communists have refurbished their charges against foreign imperialists, and in particular against the cultural imperialism of the Christian missionary. They have driven almost all missionaries from the provinces of China, succeeding where their Boxer predecessors in anti-foreignism had failed.[13] Whether the propagandists were Chinese, Soviet Russian, or Japanese, whether the organizations were of Boxer, Communist, or puppet-government variety, the prestige of power, the physical might which supported the foreigner's position, was what was resented. Even when missionaries used their own immunity as a shield to protect their Chinese neighbors, the gratitude which the beneficiaries felt was tempered by a growing realization that if China were a strong and united nation the conditions of banditry and warfare which had sent them to a foreign compound would not exist. The primary aim of the Northward Expedition was to establish just such a state. Moreover, the Kuomintang wished not only to end the ceaseless civil strife but to wipe out the privileges which had enabled missionaries to mitigate its effect on the populace. Thus the vital significance of the mission compound's function as a refuge, more important than any one or even perhaps

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[13] Creighton Lacy, "The Missionary Exodus from China," Pacific Affairs, XXVIII (December, 1955), 301-02.

than all of the myriads of families whom it saved from the fate of their less fortunate neighbors who were caught in an army's path, was the possibility of that function's existence. The treaty provisions protecting United States Protestant and other mission properties and personnel were among the spurs to the development of a unified and powerful Chinese nation. The mission compound's ability to protect Chinese from their fellows constantly held up "not only to the politically conscious in the larger centers but to the masses throughout the land" the ineffectiveness of the Peking government eventually overthrown by the Kuomintang. The expressions of the wish for a strong China ranged from the admonition of Christian leader T. C. Chao to his compatriots not to seek the temporal aid of missionaries because by so doing they caused a "loss to the honor and dignity of the nation"[14] to the anti-foreign, anti-mission, and anti-Christian movements which contributed to the victory of the Kuomintang in 1928. The missions' special position, illustrated by their function as refuges, therefore played fully as important a role in the second great revolution of twentieth-century China as it had in the first. However, there was a difference. The first revolution had been primarily destructive, seeking as a panacea for the ills of China to demolish the centuries-old Manchu government. The second, for all its destructiveness as

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[14] "The Church in China and International Arrangements," Chinese Recorder, LV (April, 1924), 243.

far as foreigners were concerned, was primarily constructive in its motivation, seeking to reunite and strengthen the nation so that it could take its rightful place among the states of the world.

With the recognition by Britain and the United States of China as their sovereign equal, the protective role played by mission refuges in modern China ceased to exist. Not only was it no longer formally possible for them to perform it as they had in times past. In a deeper sense, it ended because the admission of China as a full member of the family of nations fulfilled the nationalist aspirations of the Chinese people which had been in part aroused by the ability of mission compounds during the period of the warlords to provide greater safety for them than could their own government. This facet of the United States Protestant missionary's contribution to modern China--his role, through the privileged position which enabled him to protect his Chinese friends and acquaintances from their Chinese enemies, as a living and constant reminder of the international inferiority of China--was an involuntary one, it is true. The conflict of conscience which has been so often mentioned in these pages demonstrates his unwillingness to undertake it. Nevertheless, it was one of the forces which helped to determine the forms and directions taken by Chinese nationalism in the twentieth century. Thus the role of the United States Protestant mission compound as a refuge in the internecine warfare of pre-Nationalist China was two-fold: the very real service which it rendered to those

who could reach its walls in time, and the motivation which its power to render that service provided for the formation of a state with the physical and moral strength needed to put an end to the strife and corruption out of which that function had grown. In the battle with Japan, however, the assistance which it was able to give to China's people was not resented as a hindrance to her acceptance as a modern sovereign state so much as it was regarded as a help in her effort to establish her stability. It was fitting, therefore, that the end of the treaty-defined status of the United States Protestant missionary which had clothed him with power to preserve within his walls the law and order mocked by war outside them should come with the formal recognition of China's government by his homeland as one capable of maintaining order and justice within the area it controlled.

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